

DANIEL DE FOE'S
V O Y A G E
ROUND THE
W O R L D.

VOL. I.

A

DAVID DE ROE

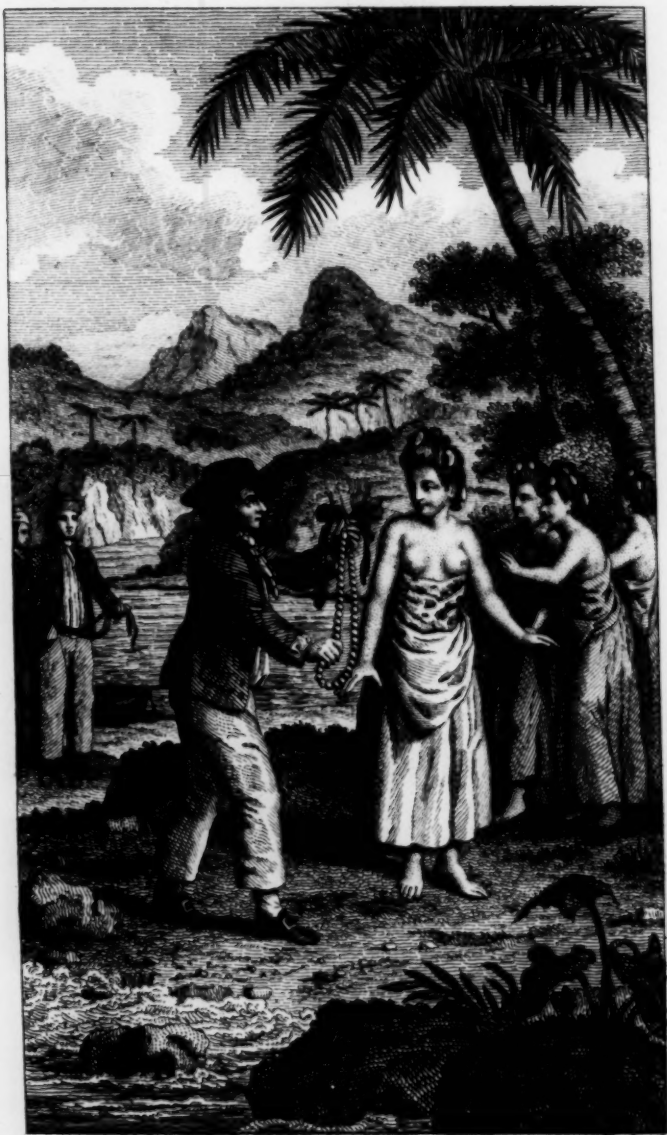
V O Y A G E

ROUND THE

W O R L D

VOL. I.

FRONTISPIECE.



J. Taylor J.

*Daniel De Foe's Voyage Round the World,
by a Course never Sailed Before.*

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DANIEL DE FOE's
V O Y A G E
R O U N D T H E
W O R L D,

B Y A
COURSE NEVER SAILED BEFORE.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY WILLIAM SHIELLS, ESQ.
IN THREE VOLUMES.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N:
Printed for F. NOBLE, No. 324, HOLBORN.

MDCCLXXXVII.

THE
L I F E
O F
Mr. DANIEL DE FOE.

THIS gentleman acquired a very considerable name by his political and poetical works; his early attachment to the revolution interest, and the extraordinary zeal and ability with which he defended it. He became one of the most enterprising authors this, or any other, age ever produced.

The work by which he is most distinguished as a poet, is his True Born Englishman, a satire, occasioned by a poem entitled Foreigners, written by John Tuchin, Esq.

VOL. I.

B

Soon

Soon after the revolution, the people, who are restless in their inclinations, and loath that to-day for which they would yesterday have sacrificed their lives, began to be uneasy at the partiality their new King discovered to his countrymen.

The popular discontent rose to such a height, that King William was obliged to dismiss his Dutch guards; and tho' he died in possession of the crown of England, yet it proved to him a crown of thorns, and he spent fewer peaceful moments in his regal station, than before his head was environed with an uneasy diadem.

Mr. De Foe, who had a very true notion of civil liberty, engaged the enemies of the new government-

vernment, and levelled the force of his satire against those who value themselves for being true-born Englishmen. He exposes the fallacy of that prepossession, by laying open the sources from whence the English have sprung.

“Normans, Saxons, and Danes,” says he, “were our forefathers; we are a mixed people; we have no genuine origin; and why should not our neighbours be as good as we to derive from? And I must add, that had we been an unmixed nation, I am of opinion, it had been to our disadvantage: for to go no further, we have three nations about us clear from mixture of blood, as any in the world, and I know not which of them we could wish ourselves to be like; I

mean the Scotch, Welch, and Irish; and if I were to write a reverse to the Satire, I would examine all the nations of Europe, and prove, that those nations which are the most mixed, are the best, and have least barbarism and brutality amongst them.

Mr. De Foe begins his satire with the following lines.

Wherever God erects a house of pray'r,
The devil always builds a chapel there :
And 'twill be found upon examination,
The latter has the largest congregation.

After passing a general censure on the surrounding nations, Italy, Germany, France, &c. he then takes a view of England, which he charges with the black crime of ingratitude. He enumerates
the

the several nations from whence
we are derived, Gauls, Saxons,
Danes, Irish, Scots, &c. and says,

From this amphibious ill-born mob began,
'That vain, ill-natured thing, an Englishman.

This satire, written in a rough,
unpolished manner, without art or
regular plan, contains some very
bold and masculine strokes against
the ridiculous vanity of valuing
ourselves upon descent and pedi-
gree. In the conclusion, he has
the following strong, and we fear
too just, observation.

Could but our ancestors retrieve their fate,
And see their offspring thus degenerate ;
How we contend for birth, and names unknown,
And build on their past actions, not our own ;
They'd cancel records, and their tombs deface,
And openly disown the vile degenerate race :

For fame of families is all a cheat,
'Tis pers'nal virtue only makes us great.

The next satire which De Foe wrote, was entitled Reformation of Manners, in which some private characters are severely attacked. It is chiefly aimed at some persons, who being vested with authority to suppress vice, yet rendered themselves a disgrace to their country, encouraging wickedness by that very authority they had to suppress it.

Poetry was far from being the talent of De Foe. He wrote with more perspicuity and strength in prose; and he seems to have understood, as well as any man, the civil constitution of the kingdom, which indeed was his chief study.

In

In the first volume of his works there is a prose essay, which he entitles, *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England*, examined and asserted. This was intended to refute a very ridiculous opinion, which politicians, more zealous than wise, had industriously propagated, viz. "That the representatives of the people, *i. e.* the House of Commons, had a right to enact whatever laws, and enter into whatever measures they please, without any dependence on, or even consulting the opinion of, their constituents; and that the collective body of the people have no right to call them to an account, or to take any cognizance of their conduct."

In answer to which, Mr. De Foe very sensibly observes, “ that it is possible for even a House of Commons to be in the wrong.— They may be misled by factions and parties ; and it is as ridiculous to suppose them infallible, as to suppose the pope of Rome, or the popish conclave infallible, which have more than once determined against one another.

“ It is possible (says he) for them to be bribed by pensions and places, and by either of those extremes to betray their trust, and abuse the people who entrust them ; and if the people should have no redress in such a case, then would the nation be in hazard of being ruined by their own representatives. And it is a wonder to find it asserted

ferted in a certain treatise, That it is not to be supposed, that ever the House of Commons can injure the people who entrust them.

“ There can be no better way to demonstrate the possibility of a thing, than by proving that it has been done already ; and we need go no further back than to the reign of King Charles II. in which we have seen lists of 180 members who received private pensions from the court ; and if any body should ask, whether that parliament preserved the balance of power in the three branches of our constitution, in the due distribution some have mentioned ? I am not afraid to answer in the negative.

“ And why, even to this day, are gentlemen so fond of spending their estates to sit in the House,

that ten thousand pounds have been spent at a time, to be chosen ; and now that way of procuring elections is at an end, private bribes, and clandestine contrivances, are made use of to get into the House ?

“ No man would give a groat to sit, where he cannot get a groat for sitting, unless there were either parties to gratify, profits to be made, or interest to support. In this case it is plain, a people may be ruined by their representatives, and the first law of nature, self-preservation, gives the people a right to resent public encroachments upon their valuable liberties.”

In the same volume is a tract, entitled, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, which contained
reflec-

reflections against some ecclesiastics in power, for breathing too much a spirit of persecution. He became obnoxious to the Ministry on this account, and was obliged to justify himself, by writing an explanation of it.

Mr. De Foe, in his preface to the second volume of his works, takes occasion to mention the severe hardships he laboured under, occasioned by those printers who make a practice of pirating every work of his attended with success.

As an instance of this kind of oppression, he mentions the True-born Englishman, by which, had he enjoyed the full profit of his own labours, he must have gained a thousand pounds; for besides nine editions which passed under

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his own inspection, this poem was twelve times pirated; but the insolence of those fraudulent dealers did not stop here. A printer of a bad reputation collected a spurious and erroneous copy of several of De Foe's pieces, and entitled them *The Works of the Author of the True-born Englishman*; and tho' he was then embroiled with the government for one of the pamphlets which this collection contained, yet had this man the impudence to print amongst them the same pamphlet, presuming so far upon the partiality of the public resentment, that he should pass with impunity for publishing that very thing for which the author was to be prosecuted with the utmost severity.

This,

This, however, was an irresistible testimony, that the resentment shewn to the author was on some other and less justifiable account, than the publication of that book; so was it a severe satire on the unweariness of the ministry, who had not eyes to discern their justice plainly exposed, and their general proceedings bantered by a printer, for publishing in defiance of them that same book for which another man stood arraigned.

Mr. De Foe, who possessed a resolute temper, and a most confirmed fortitude of mind, was never awed by the threats of power, nor deterred from speaking truth by the insolence of the great.—Wherever he found vice he lashed it, and frequently, as Pope says,

Dash'd

Dash'd the proud gam'ster from his gilded car,
Bar'd the mean breast that lurk'd beneath a star.

For some vigorous attacks against the measures of a prevailing party, which Mr. De Foe reckoned unconstitutional and unjust, he was prosecuted, and received sentence to stand on the pillory; which punishment he underwent.

At the very time he was in the hands of the ministry, to show the invincible force of his mind, he wrote a Hymn to the Pillory, a kind of defiance to their power. "The reader (says he) is desired to observe, this poem was the author's declaration, even when in the cruel hands of a merciless as well as unjust ministry, that the treatment he had from them was unjust,

unjust, exorbitant, and consequently illegal."

As the ministry did not think proper to prosecute him for this fresh insult against them, that forbearance was construed a confession of guilt in their former proceedings.

In the second volume of our author's works, is a piece entitled, *More Reformation*, a satire upon himself. We have already taken notice of a satire of his called *Reformation of Manners*, in which some personal characters are stigmatized, which drew much odium on Mr. De Foe. This satire called *More Reformation*, is a kind of supplement to the former. In the preface he complains of the severe usage he had met with, but, says he,

he, " that the world may discern that I am not one of those who practise what they reprove, I began this satire with owning in myself those sins and misfortunes which I am no more exempted from than other men; and as I am far from pretending to be free from human frailties, but forwarder to confess any of the errors of my life, than any man can be to accuse me, I think myself in a better way to reformation than those who excuse their own faults by reckoning up mine.

" Some that have heard me complain of this hard usage, have told me, there is something of a retaliation of providence in it, for my being so very free with the characters of other men in a late satire
called

called The Reformation of Manners. To this I answer, first, in that satire, or any other I ever wrote, I have always carefully avoided lashing any man's private infirmities, as being too sensible of my own; but if I have singled out any man by character, it has either been such, as intending to reform others, and execute the laws against vice, have been the greatest examples and encouragers of it in their own practice; or such as have been entrusted with the executive power of justice, and having been called upon by the laws to reform us, have been a public reproach to the magistracy of this nation, and ought to be punished by the laws they have been protected by.

“ Secondly, I have never made
any

any man's disasters or misfortunes the subject of my satire. I never reproached any man for having his house burnt, ships cast away, or his family ruined. I never lampooned a man because he could not pay his debts, or for his being a cuckold.

“ Thirdly, I never reproached any man for his opinion in religion, or esteemed him the worse for differing in opinion from me.

“ If, therefore, the scandalous treatment I have received is just on me, for abusing others, I must ask such, who is the man? Where is the character I have given that is not just? And where is the retaliation of Providence, that these men entitle themselves to in loading me with falsities and lies, as a
just

just punishment for my speaking truth ?

“ But, p-x on him, said a certain sober gentleman, he is a Whig, and what need he have meddled with his own party, could not he have left them out, there were characters enough on the other side ?

“ Why really, I must own, I know no Whig or Tory in vice ; the vicious and the virtuous are the only two parties I have to do with ; if a vicious, lewd, debauched magistrate happened to be a Whig, what then ? let him mend his manners, and he may be a Whig still ; and if not, the rest ought to be ashamed of him.”

We have been induced to make this Extract, as it seems to shew the genius and spirit of the author
in

in a more advantageous light than we could have otherwise done. — Though he was a resolute asserter of Whig principles, and a champion for the cause of Liberty, yet was he never blinded by party prejudice, but could discern designing and selfish men, and strip them of their disguises, though joined with him in the same political contests.

There are in the same volume, many other poetical pieces, and political and polemical tracts, the greatest part of which are written with great force of thought, tho' in an unpolished, irregular stile. The natural abilities of the author seem to have been very high. He had a great knowledge of men and things, particularly what related to
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the government and trade of these kingdoms. He wrote many pamphlets on both, which were well received, tho' his name was never prefixed. His imagination was fertile, strong, and lively, as may be collected from his many works of fancy, particularly his Robinson Crusoe, which was written in so natural a manner, and with so many probable incidents, that, for some time after its publication, it was judged by most people to be a true story. It was indeed written upon a model entirely new, and the success and esteem it has met with, may be ascertained by the many editions it has had. Nor was he less remarkable in his writings of a serious and religious turn, witness his Religious Courtship,
and

and his Family Instructor; both of which strongly inculcate the worship of God, the relative duties of husbands, wives, parents, and children; not in a dry, dogmatic manner, but in a kind of dramatic way, which excites curiosity, keeps the attention awake, and is extremely interesting and pathetic.

We have already seen, that in his political capacity he was a declared enemy to popery, and a bold defender of revolution principles. He was held in much esteem by many great men, and though he never enjoyed any regular post under the government, yet he was frequently employed in matters of trust and confidence, particularly in Scotland, where he several times

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was sent on affairs of great importance, especially those relative to the Union of the Kingdoms, of which he was one of the negotiators.

It is impossible to arrive at the knowledge of half the productions of this ingenious man, as he never put his name to any. However, it is now well known the following agreeable works are a part of his performances.

History of Robinson Crusoe.

Voyage round the World by a Course never failed before. Describing the manners of the Chilian Indians, a people till then entirely unknown to the Europeans.

Life and Adventures of Captain Singleton.

Life

Life of Roxana ; or, The Fortunate Mistress.

Life of Letitia Atkins ; or, Moll Flanders.

Life of Colonel Jack.

History of the great Plague in London.

Religious Courtship.

Family Instructor.

History of Apparitions.

Political History of the Devil.

History of Magic.

With many others, that are only to be met with in the libraries of the curious.

Considered as a poet, Daniel De Foe is not so eminent as in a political light : he has taken no pains in versification ; his ideas are masculine, his expressions coarse, and his numbers generally rough.—
He

He seems rather to have studied to speak truth, by probing wounds to the bottom, than, by embellishing his versification, to give it a more elegant keenness. This, however, seems to have proceeded more from carelessness in that particular, than want of ability: for the lines in his *True Born Englishman*, in which he makes Britannia rehearse the praises of her hero, King William, are harmoniously beautiful, and elegantly polished.

What provocation De Foe had given to Pope we cannot determine, but he has not escaped the lash of that gentleman's pen. Mr. Pope in his second book of his *Dunciad* thus speaks of him.

Earless on high stood unabash'd De Foe,
And Tutchin flagrant from the scourge below

It may be remarked that he has joined him with Tutchin, a man, whom judge Jeffries had ordered to be so inhumanly whipt through the market towns, that he petitioned the King to be hanged. This severity soured his temper, and after the deposition and death of King James, he indulged his resentment in insulting his memory.

This may be the reason why Pope has stigmatized him, and perhaps no better a one can be given for his attacking De Foe, whom the author of the Notes to the Dunciad owns to have been a man of parts. De Foe can never, with any propriety, be ranked amongst the dunces ; for whoever reads his works with candour and impartiality, must be convinced that he
was

was a man of the strongest natural powers, a lively imagination, and solid judgement, which, joined with an unshaken probity in his moral conduct, and an invincible integrity in his political sphere, ought not only to screen him from the petulant attacks of satire, but transmit his name with applause to posterity.

De Foe, who always enjoyed a competence, and was seldom subject to the necessities of the poets, died at his house at Islington, in the year 1731. He left behind him one son and one daughter. The latter was married to Mr. Henry Baker, a gentleman well known in the philosophical world.

The Reader is desired to observe, in this work, as in all his other writings, Mr. Daniel De Foe ever chose to conceal his name, and left it to the public to discover the author. For his genius was so extremely prolific, and his imagination so lively, that in every description of adventures, in any of his works of fancy, both by sea and land, he adhered so closely to nature, that no one had the least suspicion of their being merely invention, but founded upon real truths; until Mr. Shiells, the writer of his life, which is here prefixed, and never before published in any of his works, gave a catalogue of his writings, as far as he could collect, and which is confirmed, concerning the present work, as a fiction, by the ingenious Mr. Forster, in his *Voyages and Discoveries in the North*, printed in 1786, where he says, speaking of a pretended discovery made by a Spanish Admiral, Bartholomew de Fonte, "Indeed he would make such a figure in this work as an extract of twenty pages from the well-known Daniel De Foe's *Voyage round the World*, by a course never failed before, would, when blended with the genuine materials for history gathered from state-papers, or with a collection of authentic records."

The above extract is taken only to prove, that Captain Forster had a high opinion of Mr. Daniel De Foe's abilities as a writer of fiction. And to this opinion every one will readily concur.

The EDITOR.

P. S. Since the above Mr. Shiells, Mr. Paul Whitehead, author of a Poem entitled Manners, a Satire, discovered another work of Mr. De Foe—Memoirs, Travels, and Adventures of a Cavalier, of which a new edition has been lately published by F. NOBLE, in three volumes, price nine shillings bound.

IN-

INTRODUCTION.

IT has for some ages been thought so wonderful an enterprise to sail round the globe, that when a man has performed this mighty exploit, he presently thinks it deserves to be recorded in print, no less than that of the first adventurers. So as soon as men have acted the sailor, they come a-shore and write books of their voyage, not only to make a parade of what they have done themselves, but, pretending to show the way to others who may come after them, set up for teachers and chart makers to posterity. Though most of them have had this misfortune, that whatever success they

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have

have had in the voyage, they have had very little in the relation; except it be to tell us, that a seamen when he comes to the press, is pretty much out of his element, and that a very good sailer may make but a very indifferent author.

I do not in this, lessen the merit of those gentlemen who have made such a long voyage, as that round the world; but I must be allowed to say, as the way is now a common road, the reason of it thoroughly known, and the occasion of it more frequent than in former times; the world has done wondering at it. We no more look upon it as a mighty affair, a strange and marvelous undertaking. This cannot be now expected of us, the circumstance is made familiar, every ordinary sailer is able to do it, if his merchants are but qualified to furnish him for so long a voyage; and he that can carry a
ship

ship to Lisbon, may with the same ease carry it round the world.

Some tell us, it is enough to wonder at a thing nine days; one would reasonably then conclude, that it is enough that sailing round the world has been wondered at above a hundred years: I shall therefore let the reader know, that it is not the rarity of going round the world that has occasioned this publication; but if some incidents have happened in such a voyage, as either have not happened to others, or as no other people, though performing the same voyage, have taken notice of, then this account may be worth publishing, though the mere voyage round the world be in itself of no value.

It is to be observed, of the several navigators whose voyages round the world have been published, that few, if any of them, have diverted us with that variety of events which a circle of that length must

needs offer. We have very little account of their landings, their diversions, the accidents which happened to them, or to others by their means. The stories of their engagements, when they have had any scuffle either with natives, or European enemies, are told superficially and by halves; the storms and difficulties at sea or on shore, have no where a full relation; and all the rest of their accounts are generally filled up with directions for sailors sailing that way, the bearings of the land, the depth of the channels, entrances and barrs, at the several ports, anchorage in the bays and creeks, and the like things, useful indeed for seamen going thither again, and how few are they? but not at all to the purpose when we come expecting to find the history of the voyage.

Another sort of these writers have just given us their long journals, tedious accounts of their
log-

Log-work, how many leagues they failed every day; where they had the winds, when it blew hard, and when softly; what latitude in every observation, what meridian distance, and what variation of the compass. Such is the account of Sir John Narbrough's voyage to the South Seas, adorned with I know not how many charts of the famous streight of Magellan, a place only now famous for showing the ignorance of Sir John Narbrough, and a great many other navigators before him, and for being a passage they had no need to have troubled themselves with, and which no body will ever go through any more.

Such also are the voyages of Captain John Wood, to Nova Zembla, at the charge of the publick, in King Charles the IIId's time, and Martin Forbisher to the North West passages, in Queen Elizabeth's time; all which, are

indeed full of their own journals, and the incidents of sailing, but have little or nothing of story in them, for the use of such readers who never intend to go to sea, and yet such readers may desire to hear how it has fared with those that have, and how matters stand in those remote parts of the world.

For these reasons, when first I set out upon a cruising and trading voyage to the East, and resolved to go any where, and every where that the advantage of trade or the hopes of purchase should guide us, I also resolved to take such exact notice of every thing that past within my reach, that I should be able, if I lived to come home, to give an account of my voyage, different from all that I had ever seen before, in the nature of the observations, as well as the manner of relating them: And as this is perfectly new in its modification, so I cannot doubt but it will be agreeable
in

INTRODUCTION. 35

in the particulars, seeing either no voyage ever made before, had such variety of incidents happening in it, so useful and so diverting, and that no person who had sailed on those voyages, has thought fit to publish them in the form and manner I have chosen.

Lately published, in Two Volumes,
Price Eight Shillings, bound in Calf and lettered,

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MUSE in GOOD HUMOUR;
A
COLLECTION of COMIC TALES.

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The Country Squire,	The Impossible Thing,
The Lout looking for	The Parson's Daughter,
his Heifer,	The Leaky Vessel,
The Amorous Groom,	The Credulous Husband,
Cassius and Peter,	Bad Bargain on Both
The Fair Nun,	Sides,
A Medicine for the La-	The Crab Tree,
dies,	The Confession,
The Spinning Wheel,	The Bottle Screw,
The Curious Wife,	The Artful Wife,
The Magnifying Glass,	The New-River Head,
The Royal Cuckold,	The Skillet,
The School of Wit,	The Game of Put,
The Best in Christendom,	The Glisten.

Printed for F. NOBLE, in HOLBORN.

DE

DE FOE'S VOYAGE

ROUND THE

W O R L D.

HAVING been fitted out in the river Thames in the year 1713, and on a design perhaps not very consistent with the measures taking at that time for the putting an end to a war of some years standing, I must be allowed to own I was at first obliged to act not in my own name, but to put in a French commander into the ship, for the reasons which follow, and which those who understand the manner of trade upon closing the late war, I mean the trade with Spain,

Spain, will easily allow to be just and well grounded.

During the late war between Great Britain and her confederates on one side, and the united crowns of France and Spain on the other, we all know the French had a free trade into the South Seas; a trade carried on with the greatest advantage, and to the greatest degree, that any particular commerce has been carried on in the world for many ages past; insomuch, that we found the return of silver that came back to France by those ships, was not only the enriching of the merchants of St. Malo, Rochell, and other ports in France, some of whom we saw get immense estates in a few years, even to a million sterling a man. But it was evident, the King of France himself was enabled by the circulation of so much bullion through his mints, to carry on that war with very great advantage.

It

It was just at the close of this war, when some merchants of London looking with envy on the success of that trade, and how the French, notwithstanding the peace, would apparently carry it on, for some years at least, to infinite advantage, began to consider whether it might not be possible to come in for a portion of it with France, as they were allied to Spain, and yet go abroad in the nature of a private cruiser.

To bring this to pass, it was thought proper in the first place, to get a share, if possible, in a new design of an East India trade in Flanders, just then intended to be set up by some British merchants, by the assistance of an Imperial charter, or at least under colour of it; and so we might go to sea in a threefold capacity, to be made use of as occasion might present, viz. when on the coast of New Spain we sought to trade, we were French men,

men, had a French captain and a sufficient number of French seamen, and Flemish or Walloon seamen, who spoke French, so to appear on all proper occasions. When at sea we met with any Spanish ship worth our while, we were English cruisers, had letters of mart from England, had no account of the peace, and were fitted for the attack. And when in the East Indies we had occasion to trade, either at the English or Dutch settlements, we should have Imperial colours, and two Flemish merchants, at least in appearance, to transact every thing as we found occasion. However, this last part of our project failed us, that affair not being fully ripe.

As this mysterious equipment may be liable to some exceptions, and perhaps to some enquiries, I shall for the present conceal my name, and that of the ship also: By enquiries, I mean enquiries of private

private persons concerned; for as to publick enquiries, we have no uneasiness, having acted nothing in contradiction to the rules and laws of our country; but I say, as to private persons, it is thought fit to prevent their enquiries, to which end, the captain in whose name I write this, gives me leave to make use of his name, and conceal my own.

The ship sailed from the river the 20th of December, 1713, and went directly over to the Coast of Flanders, lying at an anchor in Newport Pitts, as they are called, where we took in our French Captain Jean Michael Merlotte, who with 32 French seamen, came on board us in a large snow from Dunkirk, bringing with them one hundred and twenty-two small anchors or rundlets of brandy, and some hampers and casks of French wine in wickered bottles: While we were here, we lay under English colours, with pendants flying, our ship

ship being upwards of five hundred ton, and had 46 guns mounted, manned with three hundred and fifty-six men: We took the more men on board because we resolved as occasion should present, to fit ourselves with another ship, which we did not question we should meet with in the South Seas.

We had also a third design in our voyage, though it may be esteemed an accident to the rest, viz. We were resolved to make some attempts for new discoveries, as opportunity offered; and we had two persons on board who were exceedingly well qualified for our direction in this part, all which was derived from the following occasion.

The person who was principally concerned in the adventure, was a man not only of great wealth, but of great importance; he was particularly addicted to what we call new discoveries, and it was indeed upon his genius to such things,
that

that the first thought of the voyage was founded. This gentleman told me that he had already sent one ship fully equipt and furnished for a new attempt, upon the North West or North East passages, which had been so often in vain tried by former Navigators; and that he did not question the success, because he had directed them by new measures, and to steer a course that was never attempted yet; and his design in our voyage was to make like discoveries towards the South pole; where, as he said, and gave us very good reasons for it, he did not doubt but we might discover even to the pole itself, and find out new worlds and new seas, which had never been heard of before.

With these designs, this gentleman came into the other part of our project, and contributed the more largely, and with the more freedom, to the whole, upon that account; in particular, all the
needful

needful preparations for such discoveries, were made wholly at his expence, which I take notice of here, as being most proper in the beginning of our story, and that the reader may the less wonder at the particular way we took to perform a voyage which might with much more ease have been done by the usual and ordinary way.

We sailed from the coast of Flanders the second of January, and without any extraordinary incident made the coast of Galloway in Ireland the tenth, where we stayed and took in a very extraordinary store of provisions, three times as much as usual; the beef being also well pickled or double packed, that we might have a sufficient reserve for the length of our voyage, resolving also to spare it as much as possible.

We had a very rich cargo on board, consisting of all sorts of British manufactures suitable for the Spanish

Spanish trade in their West Indies; and as we aimed at nothing of trade till we came to the Spanish coast, we sailed directly for the Canary Islands; having not fully resolved whether we would make our voyage to the South Seas first, and so round the globe by the East Indies, as has been the usual way, or whether we would go first by the East Indies, and upon the discoveries we were directed to, and then cross the great Pacific Ocean to the West coast of America, as was at last resolved.

We made the Canaries the eleventh of February, and coming to an anchor there to take in some fresh water, we put out French colours, and sent our boat on shore, with a French boatswain and all French seamen, to buy what we wanted: They brought us on board five butts or pipes of wine, and some provisions, and having filled our water, we set sail again the thirteenth:

teenth: In this time we called a council among ourselves, by which way we should go.

I confess, I was for going by the Cape of Good Hope first, and so to the East Indies, then keeping to the South of Java, go away to the Moluccoes, where I made no doubt to make some purchase among the Dutch Spice Islands, and so away to the Philippines; but the whole ship's company, I mean of Officers, were against me in this scheme, although I told them plainly that the discoveries which would be made in such a voyage as that, were the principal reasons why our chief owner embarked in the adventure, and that we ought to regard the end and design of our voyage; that it would certainly in the conclusion amount to the same, as to trade, as if we went the usual way, seeing the places we were to go to, were the same one way as the other, and it was only putting the

the question which we should go to first; that all the navigators on such voyages as these, went by the South Seas first, which would be no honour to us at all; but if we went by the East Indies first, we should be the first that ever went such a voyage, and that we might make many useful discoveries and experiments in trying that course; that it would be worth our while, not only to go that way, but to have all the world take notice of it, and of us for it.

I used a great many arguments of the like nature, but they answered me most effectually, with laying before me the difficulties of the voyage, and the contrary methods of trade, which, in a word, made the going that way impracticable: First, the difficulty of the voyage, over the vast ocean called the Pacific Sea, or South Sea, which, if we kept a Southern latitude, and took the variable winds as we
should

should find them, as I propos'd to do, might very well be a voyage of six or eight months, without any sight of land, or supply of provisions or water, which was intolerable; that as to trade, it was preposterous, and just setting the voyage with the bottom upward; for as we were loaden with goods, and had no money, our first business they said, was to go to the South Seas, where our goods were wanted, and would sell for money, and then to the East Indies, where our money would be wanting, to buy other goods to carry home, and not to go to the East Indies first, where our goods would not sell, and where we could buy no other for want of money.

This was seemingly, so strong a way of reasoning, that they were all against me, as well French as English, and even the two agents for discoveries, submitted to it; and so we resolv'd to stand away from

from the Canaries, to the coast of Brasil, thence upon the Eastern coast of South America to Cape Horn, and then into the South Seas; and if we met with any thing that was Spanish by the way, we resolved to make prize of it, as in a time of war.

Accordingly we made the coast of Brasil in twenty-six days, from the Canary Islands, and went on shore at Cape St. Augustine, for fresh water, afterwards we put into the Bay of All Saints, got some fresh provisions there, and about an hundred very good hogs, some of which we killed and pickled, and carried the rest on board alive, having taken on board a great quantity of roots, and maize, or Indian corn, for their food, which they thrived on very well.

It was the last of March when we came to the Bay, and having stayed there fourteen days, to furnish ourselves with all things we wanted, we got intelligence there,

that there were three ships at the Buenos Ayres, in the River Rio de la Plata, which were preparing to go for Europe, and that they expected two Spanish men of war to be their convoy, because of the Portuguese men of war which were in Brasil, to convoy the Brasil fleet.

Their having two Spanish men of war with them for their convoy, took away a great deal from the joy we had entertained at the news of their being there, and we began to think we should make little or nothing of it: However, we resolved to see the utmost of it, and particularly if our double appearance would not now stand us in some stead.

Accordingly we went away for the river of Plata, and as usual, spreading French colours, we went boldly up to Buenos Ayres, and sent in our boat, manned with Frenchmen, pretending to be homeward bound from the South Seas, and in want of provisions.

The

The Spaniards received us with civility, and granted us such provisions as we wanted; and here we found, to our great satisfaction, that there was no such thing as any Spanish man of war there; but they said they expected one, and the Governor there for the King of Spain asked our French officer if we would take one of their ships under our convoy? Monsieur Merlotte answered him warily, that his ship was deep laden, and foul, and he could not undertake any thing, but if they would keep him company, he would do them what service he could; but that also, as they were a rich ship, they did not design to go directly to France, but to Martinico, where they expected to meet with some French men of war to convoy them home.

This answer was so well managed, though there was not one word of truth in it, that one of the three ships, for the other two were not ready, resolved to come away with

us, and, in an evil hour for them, they did so.

To be brief, we took the innocent Spaniard into our convoy, and sailed away to the northward with them, but were not far at sea before we let them know what circumstances they were in, by the following method: We were about half a league a head of them, when our captain bringing to, and hauling up our courses, made a signal to the Spaniards for the captain to come on board, which he very readily did; as soon as he was on board, our Captain let him know that he was our prisoner, and all his men, and immediately manning their boat with thirty of our own men, we sent them on board their ship, to take possession of her, but ordered them that they should behave civilly to the men on board, and plunder nothing: For we made a promise to the Spanish Captain, that his ship should not be plundered, upon condition he would
give

give us a just account of his loading, and deliver peaceably to us what riches he had on board; then we also agreed, that we would restore him his ship, which by the way we found was chiefly loaden with hides, things of no value to us, and that the ship also was an old vessel, strong, but often doubled, and therefore a very heavy sailer, and consequently not at all fit for our purpose, though we greatly wanted a ship to take along with us, we having, as I have said, both too many men, and being too full of goods.

The Spanish Captain, though surprized with the stratagem that had brought him thus into the hands of his enemies, and greatly enraged in his mind at being circumvented, and trepanned out of his ship, yet shewed a great presence of mind under his misfortune; and, as I verily believe, he would have fought us very bravely, if we had let him know fairly

D 3 what

what we were, so he did not at all appear dejected at his disaster, but capitulated with us as if he had been talking sword in hand. And one time when Captain Merlotte and he could not agree, and the Spanish Captain was a little threatened, he grew warm; told the Captain that he might be ill used, being in his hands, but that he was not afraid to suffer whatever his ill fortune had prepared for him, and he would not, for fear of ill usage, yield to base conditions; that he was a man of honour, and if he was so too, he demanded to be put on board his own ship again, and he should see he knew how to behave himself. Captain Merlotte smiled at that, and told him, he was not afraid to put him on board his own ship and fight for her again, and that if he did so, he was sure he could not escape him; the Spanish Captain smiled too, and told him he should see (if he did) that he knew the way

way to Heaven from the bottom of the sea as well as any other road, and that men of courage were never at a loss to conquer their enemy one way or other; intimating, that he would sink by his side rather than be taken, and that he would take care to be but a very indifferent prize to him, if he was conquered.

However, we came to better terms with him afterward. In short, having taken on board all the silver, which was about two hundred thousand pieces of eight, and whatever else we met with that was valuable (among the rest his ammunition, and six brass guns) we performed conditions, and sent him into the Rio de la Plata again with his ship, to let the other Spanish captains know what scouring they had escaped.

Though we got a good booty, we were disappointed of a ship; however, we were not so sensible of that disappointment now, as we

were afterwards: For as we depended upon going to the South Seas, we made no doubt of meeting with vessels enough for our purpose. What followed the reader will soon be informed.

We had done our work here, and had neither any occasion or any desire to lie any longer on this coast, where the climate was bad, and the weather exceeding hot, and where our men began to be very uneasy, being crowded together so close all in one ship; so we made the best of our way South.

We met with some stormy weather in these seas, and particularly a North West blast, which carried us for eleven days a great way off to sea: But as we had sea room enough, and a stout strong built ship under us, perfectly well prepared, tight and firm, we made light of the storms we met with, and soon came into our right way again; so that about the 4th of May we made land in the latitude of 45 degrees 12 minutes South. We

We put in here for fresh water, and finding nothing of the land marked in our charts, we had no knowledge of the place, but coming to an anchor at about a league from the shore, our boat went in quest of a good watering place; in pursuit of this, they went up a creek about two leagues more, where they found good water, and filled some casks, and so came on board to make their report.

The next day we came into the creek's mouth, where we found fix to eight fathom water within a cable's length of the shore, and found fresh water enough, but no people or cattle, though an excellent country for both.

Of this country* I made many observations, suitable to the design and desire of our ingenious employer and owner, and those observations are one end of publishing this voyage: I shall mention only

D 5 one

* This is the place Captain James Cook named Botany Bay.

one observation here, because I shall have occasion to speak of them hereafter more largely. My observation here, is as follows :

The particular spot which I observe upon, is that part of the continent of America which lies on the shore of the North Seas, as they are called, though erroneously; for they are more properly the East Seas, being extended along the East shores of South America. The land lies on the same East side of America, extended North and South from *Costa Deserta*, in 42 degrees, to Port St. Julian, in 49 degrees and a half, being almost five hundred miles in length, full of very good harbours, and some navigable rivers; the land is a plain for several scores of miles within the shore, with several little rising hills, but no where mountainous or stony; well adapted for enclosing, feeding, and grazing of cattle; also for corn, all sorts of which would certainly not only grow,
but

but thrive very well here; especially wheat, rye, pease, and barley, things which would soon be improved by Englishmen, to the making the country rich and populous, the raising great quantities of grain of all sorts, and cattle in proportion. The trade which I propose for the consumption of all the produce, and the place whither to be carried, I refer to speak of by itself, in the further progress of this work.

I return now to the pursuit of our voyage. We put to sea again the 10th of May, with fair weather and a fair wind; though a season of the year, it is true, when we might have reason to expect some storms, being what we might call the depth of their winter. However, the winds held Northerly, which there are to be esteemed the warm winds, and bringing mild weather; and so they did till we came into the latitude of 50 degrees, when we had strong winds

and squally weather, with much snow and cold, from the South-West, and South-West by West, which blowing very hard, we put back to Port St. Julian, where we were not able to stir for some time.

We weighed again the 29th, and stood South again past the mouth of the Streights of Magellan, a streight famous for many years, for being thought to be the only passage out of the North Seas into the South Seas, and therefore I say famous some ages; not only in the discovery of it by Magellan, a Spanish Captain, but of such significance, that for many years it was counted a great exploit to pass this Streight, and few have ever done it of our nation but that they have thought fit to tell the world of it, as an extraordinary business, fit to be made public as an honour to their names. Nay King Charles the Second thought it worth while to send Sir John Narbrough on purpose to pass and take an exact survey

survey of this Streight, and the map or plan of it has been published by Sir John himself, at the public expence, as a useful thing.

Such a mighty and valuable thing also was the passing this streight, that Sir Francis Drake's going thro' it, gave birth to that famous old wives saying, viz. That Sir Francis Drake *shot the Gulph*; a saying that was current in England for many years after Sir Francis Drake was gone his long journey *of all*; as if there had been but one gulph in the world, and that passing it had been a wonder next to that of Hercules cleansing the Egean stable.

Of this famous place I could not but observe on this occasion, that as ignorance gave it its first fame, and made it for so many ages the most eminent part of the globe, as it was the only passage by which the whole world could be surrounded, and that it was to every man's honour that had passed it;
so

so now it is come to the full end or period of its fame, and will in all probability never have the honour to have any ship, vessel, or boat, go through it more, while the world remains, unless (which is very improbable) that part of the world should come to be fully inhabited.

I know some are of opinion, that before the full period of the earth's existence, all the remotest and most barren parts of it shall be peopled; but I see no ground for such a notion, but many reasons which would make it appear to be impracticable, and indeed impossible; unless it should please God to alter the situation of the globe as it respects the sun, and place it in a direct, as it now moves in an oblique position; or that a new species of mankind should be produced, who might be as well qualified to live in the frozen zone as we are in the temperate, and upon whom the extremity of cold could have

have no power. I say, as there are several parts of the globe where this would be impracticable, I shall say no more than this, that I think it is a groundless suggestion.

But to return to our voyage; we passed by the mouth of this famous strait of Magellan, and those others which were passed through by Le Maire the Dutch sailor afterwards; and keeping an offing of six or seven leagues, went away South, till we came into the latitude of 58, when we would, as we had tried three days before, have stretched away South West, to have got into the South Seas, but a strong gale of wind took us at West North West, and though we could, lying near to it stretch away to the Southward, yet as it over-blowed, we could make no Westward way; and though we had under us an excellent strong built vessel, that, we may say, valued not the waves, and made very good work of it, yet we went away to leeward in spite
of

of all we could do, and lost ground apace. We held it out however, the weather being clear, but excessive cold, till we found ourselves in the latitude of 64.

We called our council several times, to consider what we should do, for we did but drive to leeward the longer we strove with it; the gale held still on, and to our apprehensions it was set in; blowing like a kind of Monsoon, or Trade Wind, though in those latitudes I know there is no such thing properly called as a Trade wind.

We tried, the wind abating, to beat up again to the North, and we did so; but it was by running a great way to the East; and once I believe we were in the longitude of St. Helena, though so far South, but it cost us infinite labour, and near six weeks time. At length we made the coast, and arrived again at the Port of St. Julian the 20th of June, which, by the way, is the depth of their winter.

Here

Here we resolved to lay up for the winter, and not attempt to go so far South again at that time of the year, but our eager desire of pursuing our voyage prevailed, and we put out to sea again, having taken in fresh provisions, such as are to be had there; that is to say, seals, penguines, and such like, and with this recruit we put to sea, I say, a second time.

We had this time worse luck than we had before, for the wind setting in at South West, blew a storm, and drove us with such force away to sea Eastward, that we were never able to make any way to the Southward at all, but were carried away with a continued storm of wind, from the same corner, or near it. Our pilot, or master, as we called him, finding himself often obliged to go away before it, which kept us out long at sea, and drove us far to the North East, Eastward, that he advised us to stand away for the Cape of Good Hope; and accordingly

cordingly we did so, and arrived there the last day of July.

We were now disheartened indeed, and I began to revive my proposal of going to the East Indies, as I at first proposed; and to answer the objection which they then made against it, as being against the nature of trade, and that we had nothing on board but European goods, which were not fitted for the East Indies, where money only was suitable to the market we were to make; I say, to answer this objection, I told them I would engage that I would sell our whole cargo at the Phillipine Islands, as well as on the coast of America; for that those islands being Spanish, our disguise of being French would serve us as well at the Phillipines, as it would in New Spain; and with this particular advantage, that we should sell here for four times the value as we should on the coast of Chili, or Peru; and that when we had done, we could load our ship

ship again there, or in other places in the Indies, with such goods as would come to a good market again in New Spain.

This I told them was indeed what had not been practised, nor at any other time would it be practicable: For as it was not usual for any ships to go from the East Indies to the Phillipines, so neither was it usual for any European ships to trade with freedom to the South Seas, till since the late war, when the French had the privilege: and I could not but be amazed that the French had never gone this way, where they might have made three or four voyages in one, and with much less hazard of meeting with the English or Dutch cruisers; and have made twice the profits which they made the other way, where they were frequently out three or four years upon one return; whereas here they might make no less than three returns,

or

or perhaps four, in the same voyage, and in much less time.

They were now a little surprized, for in all our first debates we had nothing of this matter brought in question; only they entertained a notion that I was going upon strange projects, to make discoveries, search for the South Pole, plant new colonies, and I know not how many whims of their own, which were neither in my design, or in my instructions. The person therefore who was our Supercargo, and the other Captain whose name I have not mentioned, together with the French Captain Merlotte, and the rest who had all opposed me before, came chearfully into my proposal, only the Supercargo told me in the name of the rest, that he began to be more sensible of the advantages of the voyage I had proposed, than he was before; but that as he was equally entrusted with me in the government of the trading part, he begged

ged I would not take it ill, that he desired I would let him farther into that particular, and explain myself at least as far as I thought proper.

This was so just a request, and so easy for me to do, and above all, was made with so much good manners and courtesy, that I told him, if I had been otherwise determined, the courteous and good humoured way, with which he required it, would constrain me to it; but that however I was very ready to do it, as he was entrusted with the cargo jointly with me, and that it was a piece of justice to the owners, that whom they thought fit to trust, I should trust also; upon this I told him my scheme, which was as follows:

First, I said, that as the Phillippine islands received all their European goods from Acapulco in America by the King of Spain's ships, they were obliged to give what price was imposed upon them by the merchants, who brought
those

those goods by so many stages to Acapulco. For example, the European goods, or suppose English goods in particular, with which they were loaden, went first from England to Cadiz, from Cadiz by the Galloons to Porto Bello, from Porto Bello to Panama, from Panama to Acapulco; in all which places the merchants had their several commissions and other profits upon the sale; besides the extravagant charges of so many several ways of carriage, some by water, some by land, and besides the King's customs in all those places; and that after all this, they were brought by sea from Acapulco to the Phillipine islands, which was a prodigious voyage, and were then generally sold in the Phillipine islands at three hundred per cent. advance.

That in the room of all this, our cargo being well bought and well fortified, would come to the Phillippine islands at once, without

out any landing or re-landing, and without any of all the additions of charge to the first cost, as those by the way of New Spain had upon them; so that if we were to sell them at the Phillippine islands a hundred per cent. cheaper than the Spaniards usually sold, yet we should get abundantly more than we could on the coast of Peru, though we had been allowed a free trade there.

That there were but two objections to this advantage, and these were, our liberty of trading, and whether the place would consume the quantity of goods we had: And to this I had much to answer; First, That it was well known at the Phillippine isles, that the Kings of France and Spain were united firmly together; that the King of Spain had allowed the King of France's subjects a free trade in his American dominions, and consequently that it would not be denied there; but on the other hand,
that

that if it was denied by the governor, yet there would be room to find out a trade with the inhabitants, and especially with the Chinese and Japan merchants, who were always there, which trade the governor could not prevent; and thus we could not fear a market for all our cargo, if it was much greater than it was.

That as to the returns, we had the advantage either way: For first, We should be sure to receive a great part of the price of our goods in Chinese or Japan gold and silver, or in pieces of eight; or if we thought fit to trade another way, we might take on board such a quantity of China damasks, and other wrought silks, muslins and chints, China ware, and Japan ware; all which, would be immediately sold in America; that we should carry a cargo of these goods to New Spain, infinitely to our advantage, being the same cargo which the four great Acapulco ships carry
back

back with them every year : That when we had gone to the South Seas with this cargo, of which we knew we should make a good market, we had nothing to do but to come back, if we thought fit, to the East Indies again, where we might load for England or Flanders, such goods as we thought proper ; or if we did not think fit to take so great a run, we might go away to the South, and round by Cape Horn into the Atlantick Ocean, and perfect those discoveries, which we made part of, in the beginning of our voyage.

This was so clear a scheme of trade, that he seemed surprized with it, and fully satisfied in every part of it. But the Captain then objected against the length of the voyage to the South Seas from the Phillipines, and raised several scruples about the latitude which we should keep in such a voyage ; that we should not be able to carry any provisions which we could take on

board in those hot countries, that would keep for so long a run, and several other difficulties; to all which I made answer, that when we had sold our cargo at the Phillipines, and found our advantages there to answer our desires, I would not oppose our returning from thence directly to England, if they found it needful; or if they thought a farther adventure would not answer the risques we were to expect in it; we would never have any dispute about that.

This satisfied them fully, and they went immediately with the news to the men, as what they thought would please them wonderfully, seeing they were mighty uneasy but two or three days before, about their being to go back again to the South of America, and the latitude of 64, where we had not only been twice driven back, as if heaven had forbidden us to pass that way, but had been driven so far to the South, that we had
met

met with a most severe cold, and which pinched our men exceedingly, who being come, as we might say, a hot weather voyage, were but ill furnished for the state of the air usual in the latitudes of 64.

But we had a harder task to go through than we expected, upon this occasion; and it may stand here upon record, as a buoy or beacon to warn officers and commanders of ships, supercargoes, and such as are trusted in the conduct of the voyage, never to have any disputes among themselves (I say not among themselves) about the course they shall take, or whither they shall go; for it never fails to come among the men after them, and if once the debate is but named on the outside of the great cabin door, it becomes immediately a dispute among the officers upon the quarter deck, the lieutenants, mates, purser, &c. from thence it gets afore the mast, and into the cook room, and the whole ship is immediately

divided into factions and parties; every foremast man is a captain, or a director to the captain; every boatswain, gunner, carpenter, cockswain, nay, and even the cook, sets up for a leader of the men; and if two of them join parties, it is ten to one but it comes to a mutiny, and perhaps to one of the two last extremities of all mutinies, viz. running away from the ship, or, what is worse, running away with the ship.

Our case was exactly thus, and had issued accordingly for aught I know, if we had not been in a port where we got immediate assistance, and that by a more than ordinary vigour in the management too.

I have mentioned the first time when we called a council about our voyage at the Canaries, and how it was carried against my opinion not to go to the East Indies, but to go to the South Seas, about by Cape Horn: As the debate of this was not at all concealed, the officers

ficers of the ship, viz. the two lieutenants and two mates, the purser, and others, came in, and went out, and not only heard all we said, but talked of it at liberty on the quarter deck, and where they pleased, till it went among the whole ship's crew. It is true, there came nothing of all this at that time, because almost all the votes being against my opinion, as I have said already, the ship's company seemed to join in naturally with it, and the men were so talked into the great prospects of gain to themselves, by a voyage to the South Seas, that they looked upon me, who ought to have had the chief direction in the business, to be nobody, and to have only made a ridiculous proposal, tending to hurt them; and I perceived clearly after this, that they looked upon me with an evil eye, as one that was against their interest; nay, and treated me with a sort of contempt too, as one that had no power to

hurt them, but as one, that if things were left to me, would carry them on a wild goose chase they knew not whither.

I took no notice of this at first, knowing that in the process of things I should have opportunity enough to let them know I had power to oblige them many ways; as also, that I had authority sufficient to command the whole ship, and that the direction of the voyage was principally in me, though I being willing to do every thing in a friendly way, had too easily, and I may say, too weakly, put that to the vote, which I had a right to have commanded their compliance with. The ill consequences of which, appeared not, for some time, but broke out upon the occasion of our new measures, as will presently appear.

As soon as we had determined our voyage among ourselves, in the great cabin, the Supercargo and Captain Merlotte went out upon
the

the quarter deck, and began to talk of it among the officers, midshipmen, &c. and to give them their due, they talked of it very honestly; not with any complaint of being over-ruled, or over persuaded, but as a measure that was fully agreed to among us in the great cabin.

The boatswain, a blunt, surly, bold fellow, as soon as he heard of it—Very well, says he; so we are all come back into Captain Positive's blind proposal, for so he called me; why this is the same that every body rejected at the Canaries; and now because we are driven hither by contrary winds, those winds must be a reason why we must undertake a preposterous, ridiculous voyage, that never any sailor would have proposed, and that man never went before. What does the Captain think that we cannot find our way to the coast of America again? and because we have met with cross winds, we

must never meet with fair ones? I warrant him, let us but go up the height of St. Helena, we will soon reach the Rio de la Plata and Port St. Julian again, and get into the South Seas too, as others have done before us.

The gunner took it from the boatswain, and he talks with one of the midship-men in the same dialect. For my part, says he, I shipped myself for the South Seas when I first came a board the ship, and in hopes of good booty, and if we go thither, I know nothing can hinder us, wind and weather permitting: But this is such a voyage, as no man ever attempted before; and whatever the Captain proposes can have nothing in it for the men, but horrid fatigue, violent heats, sickness, and starving.

One of the mates takes it from him, and he says as openly, I wonder what a plague the rest of the gentlemen mean, they were all against the Captain when he started
this

this whimsical voyage before, and now they come all into it of a sudden, without any consideration; and so the project of one man must ruin the most promising voyage ever yet undertaken, and be the death of above two hundred as stout fellows as ever were together in one ship in this part of the world.

One of the midshipmen followed the mate, and said we were all promised that another ship should be gotten, either purchased or taken, and that the first ship we took, should be manned and victualled out of this ship, where we were double manned, and crouded together enough to bring an infection among us, in such hot climates as we are going into; and if we were in the South Seas, we should easily buy a ship, or take a ship for our purpose, almost where we would; but in all this part of the world there is no such thing as a ship fit for an Englishman to set his foot in. We were promised too, that

when we got into such a ship, we that entered as midshipmen should be preferred to offices as we were qualified, and as our merit should recommend us. What they are going to do with us now, I cannot imagine, unless it be to turn us afore the mast when half the foremast men are dead, and thrown over board.

The master, or pilot of the ship, heard all these things, and sent us word into the great cabin of all that passed, and, in short, assured us, that if these things went a little farther, he was afraid they would come up to a mutiny; that there was great danger of it already, and that we ought to apply some immediate remedy to it, or else he thought it would be too late: He told me the particulars also, and how the whole weight of their resentment seemed to tend to a quarrelling at my command, as believing that this project of going to the East Indies was wholly mine; and

and that the rest of the officers being a little influenced by the accident of our being driven so far out of our way, were only biased in the rest by my opinion; and as they were all against it before, would have been so still if it had not been for me; and he feared, if they went on, they might enter into some fatal measures about me, and perhaps resolve to set me on shore in some barren uninhabited land or other, to give me my belly full of new discoveries, as it seems some of them had hinted, and the second mate in particular.

I was far from being insensible of the danger I was in, and indeed of the danger the whole voyage, ship and all, was in; for I made no question, but that if their brutish rage led them to one villainous action, they would soon go on to another; and the devil would take hold of that handle to represent the danger of their being punished for it when they came home; and

so, as has been often the case, prompt them to mutiny against all command, and run away with the ship.

However, I had presence of mind enough to enter into proper measures for our general safety, and to prevent the worst in case of any attempt upon me. First I represented the case to the rest of the gentlemen, and asked if they would stand by me, and by the resolutions which we had taken for the voyage; then I called in to our assistance, the chief mate, who was a kinsman of one of our owners, a bold resolute gentleman, and the purser, who we knew was faithful to us; as also the surgeon and the carpenter: I engaged them all to give me first their opinions whether they were convinced of the reasonableness of my scheme for the voyage I had proposed; and that they might judge for themselves, laid it all before them again, arguing every part of it so clearly
to

to them, that they were convinced entirely of its being the most rational prospect of the voyage for us, of any we could go about.

When I had done this, I recommended it to them to expostulate with the men, and, if possible, to keep them in temper, and keep them to their duty; but at the same time, to stand all ready, and upon a signal which I gave them, to come all to the steerage, and defend the great cabin door with all the other hands, whom they could be sure of; and in the mean time to be very watchful over the motions of the men, and see what they drove at.

At the same time I fortified myself with the French captain, and the supercargo, and the other captain; and by the way, all the French captain's men were true to him (and he true to us) to a man. We then brought a sufficient store of ammunition and small arms into the great cabin, and secured the
steerage,

steerage, as also the round-house, so that we could not possibly be surprized.

There was nothing done that night, but the next morning I was informed, that the gunner and second mate were in a close cabal together, and one or two of the midshipmen, and that they had sworn to one another, not that they would not go the voyage as was proposed, for that might have ended in their running away, which I should not have been sorry for; but in short, their oath was, that the ship should not go the voyage; by which I was presently to understand, that they had some measures to take to prevent my design of the voyage to the Phillipines, and that perhaps this was to run away with the ship to Madagascar, which was not far off.

I had however this apparent encouragement, that as the contrivance was yet but two days old, for it was but two days since they had

had any notice of our intentions to go, they would be some days caballing and forming an interest among the men, to make up a party strong enough to make any attempt; and that as I had a trusty set of men who would be as diligent the other way, they would be contriving every method to get the men over to their opinion, so that at least it would be some time before they could make their party up.

The affair was rightly conjectured, and the three men who had made themselves the head of the mutineers, went on a pace, and my men encreased too, as much as could be desired for the time; but the Friday after, which was about five days from the first discovery, one of the midshipmen came and desired to speak with me, and begged it might not, if possible, be known that he was with me. I asked him if he desired to be alone, he said no, I might appoint whom
I thought

I thought convenient that I could trust, but that what he had to say, was of the last importance to all our lives, and that therefore he hoped I would be very sure of those in whom I confided.

Upon this I told him, I would name the chief mate, the French Captain, and the Super Cargo, and in the mean time, I bade him not be too much surprized, for that I had already some warning of the scheme which I believed he had to tell me of, and that I was preparing all things to disappoint it: That however I should not value his fidelity the less, and that he might speak freely his mind before those men, for they were all in the secret already, and he might be sure both of protection and reward.

Accordingly, I bade him go out upon the quarter deck, and walk there, and that when the chief mate went off into the round-house, he should go down between decks as if he was going into his
cabin

cabin to sleep, and that when he heard the chief mate call the cabin boy, a black of mine, whose name was Spartivento, he should take that for a signal that the steerage was clear, and he might come up, and should be let into the great cabin; all which was so managed, and in so short a time, that he was with us in the great cabin in a quarter of an hour after the first conference, and none of the men perceived it.

Here he let me into the whole secret, and a wicked scheme it was; viz. That the second mate, the gunner, three midshipmen, the cockswain, and about six and thirty of the men, had resolved to mutiny and seize upon all us who were in the new project, as they called it: and to confine us first, then to set us on shore, either there where we were, or some where else, and so carry the ship away to the South Seas, and then to do as they found convenient; that is to say, in a word,

word, to seize upon me, the other captain, the French Captain, the supercargo, the chief mate, doctor, and carpenter, with some others, and run away with the ship.

He told me, that they had not fully concluded on all their measures, nor gained so many of the men as they intended; that they were to sound some more of the men the next morning, and as soon as they had made their number up fifty, they were resolved to make the attempt, which they did not question would be by Thursday, and this was Monday morning; and that if they were then ready, they would make the onset at changing the watch the same evening. He added, that as they were to go on shore the next morning for fresh water, I should know the truth of it by this; that the second mate would come to me, and tell me that they wanted more water, and to know if I pleased the boats should

should go on shore, and that if I chose it he would go with them, or any else whom I pleased to appoint; and that upon supposition that I would leave it to him, to take those he thought fit to go with him, he would then take occasion to choose the principal conspirators, that they might, when they were on shore, conclude upon the measures they intended to pursue.

I had all that day (Monday) to order my preparations, and upon this plain intelligence, I determined to lose no time, nor was it long before I resolved what to do; for as their design was desperate, so I had nothing but desperate remedies to provide. Having therefore settled my measures, I called for the cockswain, and bade him man the pinnace, for that I was to go on shore, and I appointed only the supercargo, and the surgeon, and the French Captain, to go with me.

There were no English ships in
the

the road, but there were about five Dutch vessels homeward bound, waiting for more, and three outward bound. As I passed by one of the outward bound East India ships, the French Captain, as we had agreed before, pretended to know the ship, and that the commander was his old acquaintance, and asked me to give him leave to visit him, and told me he was sure he would make us all welcome. I seemed unwilling at first, telling him, I intended to go on shore and pay my respects to the Governor, and, as was usual, to ask him leave to buy some provisions, and that the Governor would take it very ill if I did not go: However, upon his alledging that we would not stay, and that the Dutch Captain, upon his going on board, would, he was sure, give us a letter of recommendation to the Governor, by which we should have every thing granted that we could desire, I consented to his impor-

importunity, and we went on board.

Captain Merlotte, who spoke Dutch very well, hailed the ship, asked the captain's name, and then asked if he was on board; they answered yes, then he bade them tell him the captain of the English ship was come to visit him; upon which, immediately their chief mate bade them man the side, and stood at the side to receive us, and before we could get up, the Dutch Captain came upon the quarter deck, and with great civility invited us into his cabin; and while we were there, the chief mate, by the captain's order, entertained the boats crew with like civility.

When we were in the cabin, Captain Merlotte told the Dutch Captain that we came indeed to him in the form of a visit, but that our business was of the greatest importance, and desired we might speak to him of it in the hearing of none but such as he could trust: The captain told us with the greatest

est open-heartedness imaginable, that though we were strangers to him, yet we looked like honest men, and he would grant our request; we should speak it in the hearing of none but those we could trust, for there should be no body by but ourselves.

We made him fully sensible that we knew how obliging that compliment was, but begged he would admit any whom he thought worthy to be trusted with a secret of the last importance. He then carried it as far the other way, and told us, that then he must call in the whole ship's company, for that there was not a man in the ship but he could trust his life in his hands. However, upon the whole, he sent every body out of the cabin but us three and himself, and then desired we would speak our minds freely.

Captain Merlotte, who spoke Dutch, began, but the Dutch Captain interrupted him, and asked if
the

the English Captain, (meaning me) spoke Dutch ; he said no, upon which he asked Captain Merlotte if he spoke English, and he said yes, upon which he let me know that he understood English, and desired I would speak to him in English.

I was heartily glad of this, and began immediately with the story, for we had time little enough. I told him that he was particularly happy, in having it in his power to say he could put his life in the hand of any man, the meanest in his ship ; that my men were unhappily the reverse of his ; and then beginning at the first of the story, I gave him a full account of the whole, as related above.

He was extremely affected with it, and asked me what he could do to serve me, and assured me that he would not only do what in him lay, but would engage all the ships in the road to do the like, and the governor also on shore. I thanked him very sincerely, and told him,
that

that what at present was the circumstance I thought lay before me, was this, viz. that the chief conspirators would be on shore on the morrow, with one, or perhaps two, of our boats, to fetch water, and get some fresh provisions, and I should be very glad to have them seized upon by surprize, when they were on shore, and that then I thought I could master the rest on board well enough.

Leave that to me, says he, I will give the governor notice this evening, and as soon as they come on shore they shall be all seized; but, says he, if you think they may incline to make any resistance, I will write a line to the governor, and give it you now; then when your men go on shore, order two of the principal rogues to go and wait on the governor with the letter from you, and when he receives it, he shall secure them there; so they will be divided and taken with the more ease.

In

In the mean time, added he, while this is doing on shore, I will come on board your ship, with my long boat and pinnace, and as many men as you please, to repay you the compliment of this visit, and assist you in reducing the rest.

This was so kind, and so completely what I desired, that I could have asked nothing more; and I accepted his visit in his barge, which I thought would be enough, but was afraid that if more came, our men might be alarmed, and take arms before I was ready; so we agreed upon that, and if I desired more help, I should hang out a signal, viz. a red Antient on the mizen top.

All things being thus consulted, I returned on board, pretending to our men that I had spent so much time on board the Dutch ship, that I could not go on shore; and indeed some of my men were so drunk, that they could scarce sit to their oars; and the cockswain was so very far gone, that I took occa-

sion to ask publickly, to leave him on board till the next day, giving the Dutch Captain also a hint that he was in the conspiracy, and I should be glad to leave him on that account.

The next day about nine o'clock, the second mate came to me, and told me they wanted more water, and if I pleased to order the boat on shore, he would go, if I thought fit, and see if he could get any fresh provisions, the purser being indisposed.

I told him yes, with all my heart, that the Dutch Captain last night had given me a letter to the governor, to desire we might be furnished with whatever we had occasion for, and that I had thoughts of calling for him to go on shore and deliver it, and that perhaps the governor might make him some present in compliment to the English nation.

He seemed extremely pleased at this, and even elevated, and going
out

out to give orders about the boat, ordered the long boat and the shallop, and came in again, and asked me who I pleased to have go along with him; I answered, smilingly to him, pick and choose them yourself, only leave the pinnacle's crew that went with me yesterday, because they must go on board again to carry the Dutch Captain a little present of English beer that I am going to send him, and fetch aboard their drunken cockswain, who was so intoxicated, we were fain to leave him behind us.

This was just what he wanted; and we found he chose all the chief rogues of the conspiracy; such as the boatswain, the gunner, the midshipmen we spoke of, and such of the foremast men as he had secured in his design, and of the rest, we judged they were in the plot, because he took them with him; and thus having the long boat and the shallop, with about six and thirty

men with them, away they went to fill water.

When they came on shore, they had presently three Dutchmen, set by the Dutch Captain, unperceived by them, to be spies upon them, and to mark exactly what they did; and at the same time, found three boats of Dutchmen at the watering place, for the captain had procured two boats to go on shore from two other ships, full of men also, having acquainted them with the design. As soon as our boats came on shore, the men appeared to be all very much engaged in something more than ordinary, and instead of separating, as it was expected they should, they went all into one boat, and there they were mighty busy engaged in discourse one with another.

The Dutch Captain had given the charge of these things to a brisk, bold fellow, his mate, and he took the hints the captain gave him, so well, that nothing could have been better;

better ; for finding the men thus in a kind of a cabal, he takes four of his men with muskets on their shoulders, like the governor's men, and goes with them to the Englishmens boat, and asks for their officer, the second mate, who upon this appears : He tells them he comes from the governor, to know if they were Englishmen, and what their business was on shore there : The mate answered, they came from on board the English ship, that they were driven there by stress of weather, and hoped they might have leave to fill water and buy necessaries for their money.

He told them he supposed the governor would not refuse them when he knew who they were, but that it was but good manners to ask leave : The Englishman told him, that he had not yet filled any water, or bought any provisions, and that he had a letter to the governor, from the captain, which he supposed was to pay the usual

civilities to him, and to give him the civility of asking leave, as was expected.

The Dutchman answered, that was hael weel, that he might go and carry it if he pleased then, and if the governor gave them leave, all was right and as it should be: but that the men could not be admitted to come on shore till his return.

Upon this, away goes the second mate of our ship, and three of the men with him, whereof the gunner was one; for he had asked the Dutchman how many he might carry with him, and he told him three or four; and those he took, you may be sure were of the particular men, whom he had a confidence in, because of their conversing together by the way.

When they came to the governor, the mate sent in a message first, viz. That he was come from on board the English ship in the road,

road, and that he had a letter from the captain to his Excellence.

The governor, who had notice given him of the business, sends out word, that the gentlemen should send in the letter, and the governor would give them an answer: In the mean time, there appeared a guard of soldiers at the Governor's house, and the four Englishmen were let into the outer room, where the door was shut after them, and the soldiers stood without the door, and more soldiers in another room between them and the parlour which the governor sat in.

After some time, the mate was called in, and the governor told him, that he had read the letter which he brought, and asked him, if he knew the contents of it; he answered no: The governor replied, he supposed not, for if he had, he would scarce have brought it; at the same time told him, he was obliged to make him and all his men prisoners, at the request of

their own captain, for a conspiracy to raise a mutiny and run away with the ship. Upon which, two great fat Dutchmen came up to him and bid him deliver his sword, which he did with some reluctance; for he was a stout, strong fellow; but he saw it all to no purpose to dispute or resist.

At the same time, the three men without were made prisoners also, by the soldiers. When the governor had thus secured these men, he called them in and enquired the particulars of the case, and expostulated with them very pathetically upon such a horrid, villainous design, and enquired of them what the occasion could be; and hearing all they had to say in their defence, told them he could do nothing more in it, till their captain came on shore, which would be in a day or two, and that in the mean time, they must be content to remain in custody, which they did, separated from one another. They
were

were very civilly treated, but strictly kept from speaking or sending any messages to one another, or to the boats.

When this was accomplished, the governor sent six files of musqueteers down to the watering place, with an order to secure all the Englishmen in the two boats, which was done. They seemed inclined to make some resistance at first, being all very well armed; but the seamen of the three Dutch long boats, joining themselves to the soldiers, and notice being given the English seamen, that if they fired one gun, they should have no quarter, and especially their two principal men, the chief mate, and the gunner, being absent, they submitted, and were all made prisoners also.

When this was done, of which the Dutch Captain had notice, by a signal from the shore, he came off in his shallop, with about sixteen seamen, and five or six gentlemen and officers, to pay his visit to

me. I received him with all the appearance of ceremony imaginable, ordered an elegant dinner to be prepared for him, and caused his men to be all treated upon the deck, and made mighty preparations for the feast.

But in the middle of all this, Captain Merlotte, with all his Frenchmen, being thirty-two, appeared in arms on the quarter deck; the Dutch Captain's attendants stood to their arms on the main deck, and I, with the supercargo, the doctor, and the other captain, leaving the Dutch Captain and some men in the great cabin as a reserve, came to the steerage door, cleared the steerage behind me, and stood there with a cutlass in my hand, but said nothing; neither was there a word spoke any where all the while.

In this juncture, the chief mate, the faithful midshipmen, the carpenter, and the gunner's mate, with about twenty men, whom they could

could trust, went fore and aft between decks, and secured all the particular men that we had the least suspicion of, being no less than thirty-five more: These they secured, bringing them up into the steerage, where their hands were tied behind them, and they were commanded not to speak a word to one another, upon pain of present death.

When this was done, the chief mate came to me to the steerage door, and passing by, went forward on with his men, entered the cook room, and posted himself at the cook room door. There might be still about eighty men upon the forecastle, and midships upon the open decks; and there they stood staring, and surprized at what was doing, but not being able to guess in the least what was meant, what was the cause of it, or what was intended to be done farther.

When I found all things ready, I moved forward a step or two, and

F 6 beckoning

beckoning to the mate to command silence, I told the men, that I was not disposed to hurt any man, nor had I done what I now did, but by necessity, and that I expected they should all submit; that if any one of them made the least resistance, he was a dead man, but that if they would be easy and quiet, I should give a very good account to them all, of every part of the voyage, or scheme of a voyage which I had laid, and which had been so ill represented to them.

Then I caused my commissioner letter of mart to be read to them all, by which it appeared, that I was really chief commander of the ship, and had a right to direct the voyage as I thought best; with a paper of written instructions, signed by the owners and adventurers, and directed to me, with another paper of instructions to all the officers, to be directed by me in all things; which indeed, was all news to them, for they did not think I was the chief captain

captain or commander of the ship and voyage.

When I had done this, I gave them a long and full account of the reasons why I thought it best as our present circumstances were stated, not to go to the South Seas first, but to go away to the Philippine Islands, and what great prospect of advantage to the owners there was, as well as to the men; and that I wondered much that such measures were taking in the ship as I heard there were; and that I was not, they might see, unprovided of means to reduce every one of them to their duty by force, and to punish those that were guilty as they deserved; but that I rather desired to win them with kindness; and that therefore I had resolved, that if any of them had any reason to dislike the voyage, they should be safely set on shore, and suffered to go to the second mate and his comrades: And farther, I told them what circumstances

ces they were in, and how effectually they were secured.

This astonished them, and surprized them exceedingly, and some of them enquired more particularly into the circumstances of the said second mate and his fellows: I told them they were safe enough, and should remain so: For as I could prove they had all a villainous design to run away with the ship, and set me on shore, either here, or in a worse place, I thought that only upon account of my own safety, such men were not fit to go in the ship, being once capable to entertain such horrid mischievous thoughts, or that could be guilty of such a villany; and that if any of them were of their minds, they were very welcome, if they thought fit, to go to them.

At this offer, some bold rogues upon the forecastle, which I did not discern, by reason of the number that stood there, cried out, *One and all*, which was a cry, at the same time, of mutiny and rebellion, that
was

was certain, and in its kind very dangerous.

However, to let them see I was not to be daunted with it, I called out to one of the men among them, whom I saw upon the fore-castle; You Jones, said I, tell me who they are, and come away from them, for I will make an example of them, whoever they are. Will. Jones slunk in among the rest, and made me no answer, and immediately *One and all* was cried again, and a little huzza with it, and some of the men appeared to have fire arms with them. There was a great many of them, and I presently fore-saw, that if I went to the extremity, I should spoil the voyage, though I conquered them; so I bridled my passion with all my power, and said calmly, very well gentlemen, let me know what you mean by *one and all*? I offered any of you that did not like to go the the voyage, to quit the ship; is that what you intend by *One and all*?

all? If so, you are welcome, and pray take care to do it immediately; as for what chests or clothes you have in the ship, you shall have them all with you. Upon this I made the chief mate, who was now come to me again, advance a little with some more men, and get between the men upon the fore-castle, and those who were upon the main deck; and, as if he had wanted room, when he was gotten between them, he said to them, stand a little gentlemen, and so crowded them towards me.

As they came nearer and nearer to where I stood, I had opportunity to speak to them singly, which I did calmly and smiling.

Why how now Tom, says I to one of them, what are you among the mutineers?

Lord Sir, says Tom, not I, they are mad I think, I have nothing to say to them; I care not where I go, not I; I will go round the globe with you, it's all one to me.

Well

Well Tom, says I, but what do you do among them then? come away into the steerage, and show yourself an honest man.

So Tom comes in, and after him another, and then two more; upon my saying to Tom what do you do among them, one of the fellows says to one of the officers that stood at a little distance from me, what does the captain mean by saying among them, what does he reckon us to be in the plot? He is quite wrong, we are all ignorant, and surprized at it. He immediately tells me this, and I was glad, you may be sure to hear it, and said aloud to the man that he spoke to, if they are honest men and would not appear in this villainy, let them go down between decks and get out of the way, that they may have no share in the punishment, if they have none in the crime. With all my heart, says one, God bless you captain, says another, and away they dropt one by

by one in at the steerage door, and down between decks, every one to his hammock or cabin, till there were not above five or six of them left.

By this time, our two boats appeared from the shore, being both manned with Dutchmen, viz. the Dutch Captain's mate and about twenty of his men, all the water casks full, but not a man of mine with them, for they were left on shore in safe custody.

I waited till they came on board, and then turning to the men on the forecastle, I told them they should go on board the boats immediately, as soon as the butts of water were hoisted in. They still said *One and all*, they were ready, desired they might go and fetch their clothes.

No, no, says I, not a man of you shall set your foot any more into the ship; but go get you into the boat, and what is your own, shall be given you into the boat.

As

As I spoke this in an angry tone, and with a kind of passion, that bespoke resentment to a high degree, they began to see they had no opportunity to choose; and some of them slipped down the scuttle into the cook room. I had ordered the officer who was there, who was one of the midshipmen, to wink at it, and let as many come down as offered it, and the honest man did more than that; for he went to the scuttle himself, and as if he had whispered, so that I should not hear him, called them one by one by their names, and argued with them: Prithee Jack, says he to one of them, do not you be distracted and ruin yourself to gratify a rash drunken humour; if you go into the boat you are undone, you will be seized as soon as you come on shore as the rest are, and will be sent to England in irons, and there you will be infallibly hanged; why you are certainly all mad.

Jack

Jack replies, he had no design to mutiny, but the second mate drew him in, and he did not know what to do, he wished he had not meddled; he knew he was undone; but now what could he do?

Do, says the midshipman, leave them for shame, and slip down here, and I will see and get you off if I can.

Accordingly he pulled him down, and after him so many got out of fight the same way that there was not above seventeen or eighteen left upon the fore-castle.

I seemed to take no notice of that, till at last one of the men that was left there with his hat or cap in his hand, stepping just to the edge of the fore-castle which was next to me, said, in a very respectful manner, that I saw how many had flunk away and made their peace, or at least obtained pardon, and that I might, perhaps, know that they

they who were left were only such as had their duty there, being placed there of course before the mutiny began, and that they had no hand in it, but abhorred it with all their hearts, which he hoped I would consider and not join them with those that had offended, merely because they came upon the fore-castle and mixed there with the men who had the watch.

I told him if that was true it would be in their favour, but I expected he would prove it to my satisfaction before I accepted that for an excuse. He told me it might, perhaps, be hard to prove it, seeing the boatswain and his mate, and the second mate were gone, but the rest of the ship's crew could all testify that they were a part of the men whose watch it was, and that they were upon the fore-castle by the necessity of their duty and no otherwise, and called several men who were upon
duty

duty with them to witness it, who did confirm it.

Upon this, I found myself under a necessity, in justice to the men, to approve it: But my own management was a bite upon myself in it; for though I did allow the midshipman to wink at their slipping away as before, yet I made no question but I should have some left to make examples of; but as I could not go back from the promise of mercy which I had allowed the midshipman to offer in my name: So I tricked myself by their mistake into a necessity of pardoning them all, which was very far from my design; but there was no remedy.

However, the men, when they were so happily escaped, desired the midshipman, who had been instrumental to their deliverance, to assure me, that as they were sensible they had deserved very ill at my hands, and that yet I had treated them thus kindly, they would not
only

only reveal to me all the particulars of the conspiracy, and the names of those principally concerned in it, but that they would assure me, they would never more dispute any of my measures, but were very ready to do their duty as seamen to what part of the world soever I might think fit to go, or which way I thought fit to carry them; whether outward or homeward, and that they gave me the tender of their duty in this manner with the utmost sincerity and with thankfulness, for my having forgiven them that conduct which was the worst that a seaman could be guilty of.

I took this very kindly, and sent them word I did so, and that they should see they had taken the wiser course, that I had an intire confidence in their fidelity, and that they should never find I would reproach them with, or use them the worse, for what had past.

I must

I must confess, I was very glad of this submission of the men; for though by the measures I had taken I was satisfied I should conquer them, and that I was safe from their attempts; yet carrying it on by resentment, and doing justice upon the offenders, whatever advantage it had one way, had this disadvantage in the consequence; (viz.) that it would ruin the voyage, for at least half the men were in the plot.

Having thus conquered them by good usage, I thought my next work was to enquire into the mistakes which had been the foundation of all this: So before I parted with the men who had returned to their duty, I told them, that as I had freely forgiven what was past, so I would keep my word, that I would never reproach them with it; but that I thought it was necessary their judgments should be convinced how much they were imposed upon, as well as their
tempers

tempers be reduced by my kindness to them. That I was of the opinion that they had been abused in the account given them of what I had designed to do, and of the reasons I had to give for doing it; and I would desire them to let me know afterwards, whether they had been faithfully informed or not; and whether in their own judgement, now when they were freed from the prepossessions they were under, they could object any thing against it or no.

This I did with respect to the other men who I had made prisoners in the steerage, who I had the same design to be kind to as I had to these; but upon whom I resolved to work this way, because, after all, I might have this work to do over again if I should meet with any disappointment or miscarriage in the voyage; or especially if we should be put to any difficulties or distress in the pursuing it.

In order to this, I caused the

voyage itself, and the reasons of it, the nature of the trade I was to carry on by it, the pursuit of it to the South Seas; and in a word, every thing just as we had argued and settled it in the great cabin, to be put into writing and read to them.

The fellows, every one of them, declared they were fully satisfied in the voyage itself, and that my reasons for it were perfectly good; and that they had received a quite different account of it; as that I would carry them into the island of the Moluccas, which was the most unhealthy part of the East Indies; that I would go away to the South for new discoveries; and that I would go away thence to the South Seas; which was a voyage of such a length, that no ship could victual for; that it was impossible to carry fresh water such a length; and in a word, that it was a voyage that would destroy us all.

It was the chief mate and the
midship-

midship-man who took them all down the scuttle, that brought me this account from them; so I made him take two of those penitent mutineers with him, and go to the men in the steerage, whom he had made prisoners at first, and see whether their delusions were of the same kind, and what kind of temper they were in: Accordingly he went to them directly, for this was not a business that admitted giving them time to club and cabal together, and form other societies or combinations which might have consequences fatal to us still.

When he came to them, he told them, the captain was willing to do all the justice possible to his men, and to use them on all occasions with equity and kindness; that I had ordered him to enquire calmly what it was had moved them to these disorders, and what it was which they had been made to believe was doing, that they could enter into measures so destructive

to themselves, and to those who had entrusted them all with the ship and cargo; for that in a voyage every foremast-man, in his degree, is trusted with the safety of the whole ship.

They answered it was the second mate; that they had never shewn themselves discontented, much less disorderly in the ship; that they had on all occasions done their duty through the whole voyage till now, and that they had no ill design upon any one, much less had they any design to destroy the voyage or injure the captain; but that they were all told by the second mate, that the captain had imposed upon them, by proposing a mad voyage to the South Pole that would be the death of them all, and that they were to lay aside the trading and cruising voyages which they came out upon, and were now to spend the whole voyage in new discoveries; by which the men could propose nothing to themselves but hardships,

hardships, and perhaps perishing with hunger and cold; whereas, had they gone to the South Seas as was intended, they might all have been made; and that the hazards with that prospect, had some consolation in them; whereas in this project, there was nothing but certain destruction.

The mate delivered them a copy of the scheme I had proposed, the reasons of it, the trade I had designed, the return I was to make, and every thing as I have already mentioned, and bade them take it and consider of it.

As I was justly provoked to see how I had been abused and misrepresented to the men, so they were astonished when they read my scheme and saw what mischiefs they had been led into for they knew not what, and without any reason or just consideration: And after they had debated things a while among themselves, they desired the chief mate might come

to them again, which he did: Then they told him, that as they had been thus grossly abused and drawn into mischiefs which they never designed, by such plausible pretences, and by being told such a long story full of lies, and to carry on an infernal project of the second mates; they hoped then, being so much imposed upon, would a little extenuate their fault; that they were convinced, the captain had proposed nothing but what was very rational, and a voyage that might be very profitable to the owners and to every individual; and they intirely threw themselves upon the captain's mercy, and humbly begged pardon; that if I pleased to forgive them, they would endeavour to merit such forgiveness by their future behaviour; and that in the mean time, they submitted to what punishment I pleased to lay upon them: And particularly, that as they had forfeited, by their conspiracy,

piracy, all the claim they had upon the ship, and might justly have been turned on shore at the first land they came to, they were willing to sign a discharge for all their wages due to them, which was now near eight months a man, and to be considered for the rest of the voyage as they deserved: That they would all take a solemn oath of fidelity to me to do their duty, to go wherever I would carry them, and to behave with the greatest submission and diligence, in hopes to regain my favour by their future behaviour, and to shew their gratitude for the pardon I should grant them.

This was indeed just as I would have it, for I wanted nothing more than to have something offered, which I might give them back again; for I ever thought, and have found it by experience to be the best way; and men were always secured in their duty by a generous kindness, better than by absolute

dominion and severity : Indeed my opinion was justified in all the measures I took with these men ; for as I found they were sufficiently humbled, and that I had brought them low enough, I let them know, that it was not their punishment but their amendment I desired ; that I scorned to make a prey of them, and take that forfeiture they had offered, by putting the wages due to them for their labour in my pocket. I then sent them word, I was very glad to hear that they were sensible how much they had been imposed upon ; that as it was not my design to offer any thing to them, which they or any honest men ought to refuse, so it was not my desire to make any advantages of their follies, but what might tend to bringing them back to their duty ; that as I had no prospect that was inconsistent with their safety and interest, so I scorned to make an advantage of their submission ; that as to their wages, though

though they had forfeited them by their mutiny, yet God forbid I should convert them to my own profit: and since forgiving their offence was in my power, the crime being in one particular an offence against me, they should never be able to say I made a gain of their submission and like the Pope should sell them my pardon; that upon their solemn engaging to me never to offer the least disturbance of any kind in the ship for the future, but to do their duty faithfully and chearfully, I would forget all that was past; only this I expected, that two of them who were particularly guilty of threatening the life of Captain Merlotte, should be punished as they deserved.

They could not deny but this was most just; and they did not so much as offer to intercede for those two: But when one of the two moved the rest to petition for them, they answered they could

not do it, for they had received favour enough for themselves, and they could not desire any thing of the captain for their sakes, for they had all deserved punishment as well as they.

In a word, the two men were brought upon deck, and soundly whipped and pickled; and they all proved very honest ever after: And these, as I said at first were two and thirty in all.

All this while Captain Merlotte with his Frenchmen were in arms, and had possession on the quarter deck to the number of 23 stout men; I had possession of the main deck with 18 men and the 16 Dutchmen, and my chief mate, with the midshipman had possession of the cook room and quarter deck; the Dutch Captain, our supercargo, the surgeon, and the other captain kept the great cabin, with a guard of 12 musquiteers without the door, and about 8 more within, besides servants. Captain Merlotte's man
also

had a guard of eight men in the round-house. I had now nothing to do but with my men who were on shore; and of these, six of them were no way culpable, being men not embarked in the design, but carried on shore by the chief mate, with a design to engage them with him; so that indeed they fell into a punishment before they fell into the crime, and what to do with these men was a nice point to manage.

The first thing I did, was to dismiss my visiter the Dutch Captain, who I had a great deal of reason to think myself exceedingly obliged to: And first I handsomely rewarded his men, to whom I gave four pieces of eight a man; and having waited on the captain to the ship's side and seen him into his boat, I fired him 21 guns at his going off; for which he fired 25 when he came on board his ship.

The same afternoon I sent my pinnace on board him for my drunken cockswain, and with the

pinnace I sent the captain three dozen bottles of English beer, and a quarter cask of canary, which was the best present I had to make him; and sent every one of his other seamen a piece of eight per man; and indeed the assistance I had from the ship deserved it; and to the mate who acted so bravely with my men on shore I sent fifty pieces of eight.

The next day I went on shore to pay my respects to the governor, when I had all the prisoners delivered up to me; the six men I caused to be immediately set at liberty, as having been innocent, and brought all the rest on board tied hand and foot as prisoners, and continued them so a great while afterward as the reader will find: As for the second mate, I tryed him formally by a council of war, as I was empowered by my commission to do, and sentenced him to be hanged at the yard arm: And though I suspended the execution
from

from day to day, yet I kept him in expectation of the halter every hour; which, to some, would have been as grievous, as the hanging itself.

Thus we conquered this desperate mutiny, all principally proceeding from suffering the private disputes among ourselves, which ought to have been the Arcana of the whole voyage, and kept as secret as death itself could have kept it, I mean so as not to come among the seamen afore the mast.

We lay here twelve days, during which time we took in fresh water as much as we had casks for, and were able to stow. On the 13th day of August we weighed and stood away to the East, designing to make no land any more till we came to Java-Head, and the Straights of Sunda; for that way we intended to sail: But the wind sprung up at E. and E. S. E. and blew so fresh, that we were obliged, after two days beating against it, to bear

bear away afore it, and run back to the Cape of Good Hope.

While we were here, there came in two Dutch East-Indiamen more, homeward bound, to whom had happened a very odd accident.

They had been attacked by a large ship of 44 guns, and a stout sloop of 8 guns; the Dutch ships resolving to assist one another, stood up to the French man, for such it seems he was, and fought him very warmly. The engagement lasted six or seven hours; in which the privateer had killed them some men; but in the heat of the fight, the Sloop received a shot, which brought her main-mast by the board; and this caused the captain of the frigate to sheer off, fearing his sloop would be taken; but the sloops men took care of themselves, for halling a little out of the fight, they got into their own boats, and a boat which the frigate sent to their help, and abandoned the sloop; which the Dutchmen perceiving, they

they manned out their boats, and sent and took the sloop with all that was in her, and brought her away with them.

The Dutchmen came into the road at the Cape with this prize while our ship was there the second time; and we saw them bringing the sloop in tow, having no mast standing but a little pole-mast set up for the present, and her mizen, which was also disabled and of little use to her.

I no sooner saw her, but it came into my thoughts, that if she was any thing of a sea-boat, she would do our business to a tittle; and as we had always resolved to get another ship, but had been disappointed, this would answer our end exactly: Accordingly I went with my chief mate in our shallop, on board my old acquaintance the Dutch Captain, and enquiring there, was informed, that it was a prize taken, and that in all probability the captain that took her would be glad
to

to part with her; and the captain promised me to go on board the ship that brought her in, and enquire about it, and let me know.

Accordingly the next morning, the captain sent me word I might have her; that she carried eight guns, had good store of provisions on board, with ammunition sufficient, and I might have her and all that was in her for twelve hundred pieces of eight. In a word, I sent my chief mate back with the same messenger and the money; giving him commission to pay for it and take possession of her if he liked her; and the Dutch Captain, my friend, lent him 12 men to bring her off to us; which they did the same day.

I was a little put to it for a mast for her, having not any thing on board we could spare that was fit for a main-mast: But resolving at last to mast her not as a sloop, but as a brigantine, we made shift with what pieces we had, and a spare foretop-

foretop-mast, which one of the Dutch ships helped me to, so we fitted her up very handsomely, made her carry twelve guns, and put 60 men on board. One of the best things we found on board her, was cask, which we greatly wanted, especially for barrelling up beef and other provisions, which we found very difficult; but our cooper eked them out with making some new ones out of her old ones.

After staying here sixteen days more, we sailed again. Indeed, I thought once we should never have gone away at all; for it is certain above half the men in the ship had been made uneasy, and there remained still some mis-understanding of my design, and a supposition of all the frightful things the second mate had put in their heads; and by his means the boatswain and gunner.

As these three had the principal management of the conspiracy, and
that

that I had pardoned all the rest, I had some thoughts of making an example of these ; I took care to let them know it too, in a manner, that they had no room to think it was in jest, but that I intended to have them all three hanged ; and I kept them above three weeks in suspense about it : However as I had no intention to put them to death, I thought it was a piece of cruelty something worse than death to keep them continually in expectation of it, and in a place too where they had but little more than room to breathe.

So having been seventeen days gone from the Cape, I resolved to relieve them a little ; and yet at the same time remove them out of the way of doing me any capital injury, if they should have any such design still in their heads : For this purpose I caused them to be removed out of the ship into the brigantine, and there I permitted them to have a little more liberty than they

they had on board the great ship; and where two of them entered into another conspiracy, as wild and foolish as ever I heard of, or as, perhaps, was ever heard of by any other, but of this I shall say more in its place.

We were now to sail in company, and we went away from the Cape the third of September, 1714. We found the brigantine was an excellent sea-boat, and could bear the weather to a miracle, and no bad sailor: she kept pace with us on all occasions, and in a storm we had at S. S. East, some days after, she shifted as well as we did in the great ship, which made us all well pleased with her.

This storm drove us away to the Northward; and I once thought we should have been driven back to the Cape again; which if it had happened, I believe we should never have gone on with the voyage; for the men began to murmur again, and say we were bewitched,
that

that we were beaten off first from the South of America, that we could never get round there, and now driven back from the South of Africa; so that in short it looked as if fate had determined this voyage to be pursued no farther. The wind continued and blew exceeding hard; and in short, we were driven so far to the North, that we made the South point of the Island of Madagascar.

My pilot knew it to be Madagascar as soon as he had a clear view of the land, and having beaten so long against the sea to no purpose, and being in want of many things, we resolved to put in; and accordingly made for Port St. Augustine, on the West side of the island, where we came to an anchor in eleven fathom water, and a very good road.

I could not be without a great many anxious thoughts upon our coming into this island; for I knew very well that there was a gang of desperate

desperate rogues here, especially on the Northern Coast, who had been famous for their piracies; and I did not know but that they might be either strong enough as pirates, to take us, or rogues enough to entice a great many of my men to run away: So I resolved neither to come near enough the shore to be surprized, nor to suffer any of my men to go on shore, such excepted as I could be very secure of.

But I was soon informed by a Dutchman who came off to me with some of the natives in a kind of canvas boat, that there were no Europeans there but himself, and the pirates were on the North part of the island; that they had no ship with them of any force, and that they would be glad to be fetched off by any christian ship; that they were not above 200 in number, their chief leaders, with the only ships of force they had, being out a cruising on the Coast
of

of Arabia, and the Gulph of Persia.

After this, I went on shore myself with Captain Merlotte, and some of the men whom I could trust; and we found it true as the Dutchman had related. The Dutchman gave us a long history of his adventures, and how he came to be left there by a ship he came in from Europe, which, he running up into the country for sport, with three more of his comrades, went away without them and left them among the natives, who however used them extremely well, and that now he served them for an interpreter and a broker, to bargain for them with the European ships for provisions. Accordingly he engaged to bring us what provisions we pleased, and proposed such trinkets in return, as he knew the natives desired, and as were of value little enough to us, but he desired a consideration for himself in money, which though it was of

no

use to him there, he said, it might be hereafter; and as his demand was but twenty pieces of eight, we thought he very well deserved them.

Here we bought a great quantity of beef, which having no casks to spare, we salted, and then cured it in the sun by the Dutchman's direction, and it proved of excellent use to us through the whole voyage, for we kept some of it till we came to England, but it was then so hard, that a good hatchet would hardly cut it.

While we lay here, it came into my thoughts, that now was a good time to execute justice upon my prisoners, so I called up the officers to a kind of council of war, and proposed it to them in general terms, not letting them know my mind, as to the manner of it. They all agreed it was necessary, and the second mate, boatswain and gunner, had so much intelligence of it from the men, that they

they prepared for death, as much as if I had signed a dead warrant for their execution, and that they were to be hanged at the yard arm. But in the midst of those resolves, I told the council of officers, my design was to the North part of the island, where a gang of pirates were said to be settled, and that I was persuaded I might get a good ship among them, and as many men as we desired, for that I was satisfied the greatest part of them were so wearied of their present situation, that they would be glad of an opportunity to come away, and especially such as had either by force, or rash hasty resolutions been as it were surpris'd into that sort of life; that I had been informed they were very far from being in such a formidable posture, as they had been represented to us in Europe, or any thing near so numerous, but that on the contrary we should find them poor, divided, in distress, and

and willing to get away upon any terms they could.

Some of the officers of the ship differed from me in my opinion; they had received such ideas of the figure those people made in Madagascar, from the common report in England, that they had no notion of them, but as of a little common-wealth of robbers; that they were immensely rich, that Captain Avery was king of the island, that they were eight thousand men, they had a good squadron of stout ships, and that they were able to resist a whole fleet of men of war, having a harbour so well fortified at the entrance into it, that there was no coming at them without a good army for land service, to assist in the enterprize.

I convinced them how impossible this was to be true, and told them all the discourse I had with the Dutchman, at the place where I now was, who had received a full account of the particulars from

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several

several of them who had come down to St. Augustine's in little boats, in order to make their escape from their comrades, and to get passage for Europe; that he had always assisted, and got them off, whenever any ship touched at that port; and that they all agreed in their relation of their state and condition, which was indeed miserable enough, saving that they wanted not for victuals.

In a word, I soon brought them to enter into the reason of it, and to be of my opinion; and accordingly I ordered to get ready, and in three days time weighed anchor, and stood away for the North of the island; taking care not to communicate our debates and resolves to the men before the mast, as had been done before, we having had enough of that already.

While we were thus coasting the island, to the North, and in the channel or sea between the island and the main of Africa, it came
into

into my thoughts, that I might now make use of my traitors to my advantage and their own too, and that I might, if they were honest, gain my end, and get a full intelligence of the people I had my eye upon, and if they were still traitors they would desert and go over to the pirates, and I should be well rid of them, without the necessity of bringing them to the yard arm; for I was very uneasy in my mind about hanging them, nor could I ever have been brought to do it, I believe, whatever risque I had run from their mutinous disposition.

I was now got in the latitude of 15 degrees and a half South of the line, and began to think of standing in for the shore; when I ordered the second mate who lay in irons in the brigantine, to be brought on board the great ship, and to be called up into the great cabin. He came in great concern, though he was of himself a very bold and

resolute fellow, yet as he made no doubt, that he was sent for to execution, he appeared thoroughly softened, and quite another man, than he was before.

When he was brought in, I caused him to be set down in a nook of the cabin, where he could not stir to offer any violence to me, had he been so inclined, two large chests being just before him; and I ordered all my people to withdraw, except Captain Merlotte and the supercargo; and then turning myself to the criminal, I told him as he knew his circumstances, I need not repeat them, and the fact for which he was brought into that condition; that I had hitherto from time to time delayed his execution, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the chief officers, who in full council had unanimously condemned him; that I had a sudden thought came into my mind, which, if he knew how to merit mercy, and to retrieve his circum-

circumstances by his future fidelity, might once again put it into his power, not only to save his life, but to be trusted in the ship again, if he inclined to be honest; that however if he had no inclination to merit by his service, I would put it to his choice, either to undertake with courage and fidelity what I had to propose to him, in which case he might expect to be very well treated, or if not, I would pardon him as to the death he had reason to expect, and he, with his two fellow criminals, should be set on shore to go whither they pleased.

He waited, without offering to speak a word, till I made a full stop, and then asked me if I gave him leave to answer.

I told him he might say whatever he thought proper.

Then he asked if I gave him leave to speak freely, and would not take offence at what he might say; I replied he should speak as

freely as if he had never offended; and that as I had given him his life, I now would give him my word nothing he could say should revoke the grant; and that he should not only go freely on shore, (for I expected by his words that he had made that choice) but I would give him the lives of his two fellow prisoners; and would give them arms and ammunition, and any thing else that was reasonable for them to ask, or necessary to their subsisting on shore in such a country.

He told me then, that, had it been any other part of the world than at Madagascar, he would readily have chosen to have gone on shore; nay, though the place had been really desolate and uninhabited; that he did not object because my offer was not very generous and kind, and it would be always with regret that he should look back upon the mercy he should

should have received, and how ill he had deserved it at my hands.

But that as it was at this place that I mentioned setting him at liberty, he told me, that though he had been mutinous and disorderly, for which he had acknowledged he had deserved to die, yet he hoped I could not think so ill of him as to believe he could turn pirate; and begged that rather than entertain such hard thoughts of him, I would execute the worst part of the sentence and send him out of the world a penitent, and an honest man; which he should esteem far better than to give him his life in a condition in which he could preserve it upon no other terms than those of being the worst of villains: He added, that if there was any thing he could do to deserve so much mercy as I intended him, he begged me that I would give him room to behave himself as became him, and he would leave it wholly to me, to use him as he

should deserve, even to the recalling the pardon that I had granted him.

I was extremely satisfied with what he said, and more particularly with the manner of his speaking it: I told him I was glad to see that he had a principle of so much honesty, at the bottom of a part so unhappy as he had acted; that I would be very far from prompting him to turn pirate, and much more from forcing him to do so; and that I would according to his desire put an opportunity into his hands to shew himself a new man; and by his fidelity to wipe out all that was past: And then, without any more ceremony, I told him my whole design, which was to send him, and four or five more men with him, on shore among the pirates as spies, to see what condition they were in, and to see whether there was any apprehensions of violence from them, or whether they were in the
mean

mean circumstances that I had reason to believe they were in; and lastly whether they had any ship or vessel which might be bought of them, and whether men might be had to encrease our company; that is to say, such men as being penitent for their rogueries, and tired with their miseries, would be glad of the opportunity of turning honest men before they were brought to it by distress and the gallows.

He embraced the offer with the greatest readiness, and gave me all the assurances that I could desire of his fidelity. I then asked him whether he thought his two fellow prisoners might be trusted upon in the same conditions.

In reply, he asked me if I would take it for a piece of sincerity, if, after a trial, he should tell me his mind, and would not be displeased if he declined speaking his thoughts till he had talked with them.

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I told him he should be at liberty to give his farther answer after he had proposed it to them; but I insisted upon his opinion first, because it was only his opinion that I asked now; whereas if he reported it to them, then he had no more to do but to report their answer.

He then asked me if I would please to grant him one thing; that whatever his opinion should be, that what he should say should be no prejudice to them in their present condition.

I told him it was a reasonable caution in him, and I would assure him, that whatever he said should not do them any prejudice; and to convince him of it, I gave him my word that I would not put them to death on any account whatsoever merely for his sake.

He bowed and thanked me very heartily for that grant, which he said obliged him to be the plainer with me on that head; and as he said,

faid, he would not deceive me in any thing whatever, so he would not in this especially; and therefore told me, it was his opinion they would not serve me faithfully; and he referred me to the experience I should find of it; and added, that he would be so just to me in the beginning, as that while he begged me to be merciful to them, yet for my own sake he would also beg me not to trust them.

I took the hint, and said no more at that time, but ordered his irons to be taken off, with direction for him to have leave to go to his former cabin, and to have his chests and things restored to him; so that he was at full liberty in the ship, though not in any office, or appointed to any particular business.

A day or two after this, we made land, which appeared to be the North West part of the island, in the latitude of thirteen degrees

H 6 thirty

thirty minutes; and now I thought it was time to put our design in execution; for I knew very well that it could not be a great way from this part of the island where the pirates were to be heard of: So I ordered the boat on shore, with about sixteen men, to make discoveries, and with them my new restored man.

I gave him no instruction for any thing extraordinary at this time; our work now being only to find out where they were: The boat came on board again at night, for we had now stood in within two leagues of the shore, and brought us an account, that there were no English or Europeans on that part of the island, but that they were to be heard of a great way farther: So we stood away to the North all the night, and the next day, the wind being fair and the sea smooth, and by our reckoning we went in that time about forty leagues.

The next evening, the same
company

company went on shore again, and were shewn by some of the natives where the pirates inhabited; which in short, was about five or six and twenty miles farther North still, in a river very commodious for shipping, where they had five or six European built ships, and two or three sloops; but they were all laid up, except two sloops, with which they cruised sometimes a great distance off to the North, as far as the Arabian Gulph: The mate returned with this intelligence the same night: and by his direction, we stood in as close under the shore, as we could conveniently, about six leagues farther North; here we found a very good road under a little cape, which kept us perfectly undiscovered; and in the morning before day, my man went on shore again with the boat, and keeping only four men with him, sent the boat on board again, agreeing on a signal for us to send
the

the boat for him again when he should return.

There was a pretty high ledge of hills to the North of the place where he landed, and which running West made the little cape under the lee of which our ship rode at an anchor.

As soon as he came to the top of those hills he plainly discovered the creek or harbour where the pirate ships lay, and where they had formed their encampment on the shore. Our men took proper observations of the situation of the place they were in, upon the hill, that they might not fail to find their way back again, though it were in the night; and that by agreeing in the account they should give of themselves, they might be all found in the same tale. They boldly went down the hill, and came to the edge of the creek; the pirates camp being on the other shore.

Here they fired a gun to raise a
kind

kind of alarm among them, and then hanging out a white cloth on the top of a pole, a signal of peace, they hailed them in English, and asked them if they would send a boat and fetch them over.

The pirates were surprized at the noise of the piece, and came running to the shore with all speed; but they were much more surprized when they heard themselves hailed in English. Upon the whole, they immediately sent a boat to fetch them over, and received them with a great deal of kindness.

Our men pretended to be overjoyed at finding them there, told them a long story, that they came on shore on the West side of the island where, not far off, there were two English ships; but that the natives quarrelling with their men, upon some rudeness offered to their women, and they being separated from their fellows, were obliged to fly; that the natives had surrounded the rest, and they believed
had

had killed them all; that they wandered up to the top of the hill, intending to make signals to their ship, to send them some help; when seeing some ships, and believing some Europeans were there, they came down to take shelter; and begged of them a boat to carry them round the cape to their comrades; unless they would give them leave to stay with them, and do as they did, which they were very willing to do.

This was all a made story; but however, the tale told so well, that they believed it thoroughly, and received our men very kindly, led them up to their camp, and gave them some victuals.

Our men observed they had provisions enough, and very good, as well beef as mutton; that is to say, of goats flesh, which was excellent; also pork and veal, and they were tolerable good cooks too; for they found they had built several furnaces and boilers, which they

they had taken out of their ships, and dressed a great quantity of meat at a time: But observing they had no liquor, the mate pulled a large bottle of good cordial water out of his pocket, and gave it about as far as it would go, and so did two others of the men, which their new landlords took very kindly.

They spent good part of the first day in looking about them, seeing the manner of the pirates living there, and their strength; and soon perceived that they were indeed but in a sorry condition every way, except that they had live cattle and flesh meat sufficient. They had a good platform of guns indeed, and a covered pallisado round where they lodged their ammunition. But as for fortifications to the landward they had none, except a double pallisado round their camp, and a sort of a bank thrown up within to fire from, and stand covered from the enemies

enemies lances, which was all they had to fear from the natives. They had no bread but what they made of rice, and the store they had of that was very small: They told our men indeed, that they had two ships abroad, which they expected back every day with a quantity of rice, and what else they could get; especially some arrack, which they were to trade for with the Arabian merchants, or take it by force, which should first offer.

Our men pretended to like their way of living mighty well, and talked of staying with them, if they would let them, and thus they passed their first day of meeting.

Our men had two tents or huts given them to lodge in, and hammocks hung in the huts very agreeably, being such, I suppose, as belonged to some of their company who were dead, or were out upon adventure; here they slept very securely, and in the morning walked

walked about, as strangers might be suffered to do to look about them, but my new manager's eye was chiefly here upon two things, First, to see if they had any shipping for our purpose; and, secondly, to see if he could pitch upon one man, more likely than the rest, to enter into some confidence with, and it was not long before he found an opportunity for both; the manner was thus:

He was walking by himself, having ordered his other men to straggle away, two and two, this way and that, as if they had not minded him, though always to keep him in sight; I say, he walked by himself towards that part of the creek, where, as was said, three of their largest ships lay by the walls, and when he came to the shore right against them, he stood still looking at them very earnestly.

While he was here, he observed a boat put off from one of them, with four oars and one fitter only, whom

whom they set on shore just by him, and then put off again; the person, whom they set on shore, was, it seems, one who had been with our men the evening before, but having some particular office on board one of those ships, lay on board every night with about ten or twelve men, just to watch and guard the ship, and so came on shore in the morning, as is usual in men of war laid up.

As soon as he saw our man he knew him, and spoke very familiarly to him, and seeing he was looking so earnestly at the ship, he asked him, if he would go on board; our man faintly declined it, as on purpose to be asked again, and upon just as much farther pressing as was sufficient to satisfy him that the gunner, for that was his office, was in earnest, he yielded, so the gunner called back the boat, and they went on board.

Our man viewed the ship very particularly, and pretended to like every

every thing he saw, but, after some conversation, asks him this home question, namely, why they did not go to sea, and seek purchase, having so many good ships at their command?

He shook his head, and told him very frankly, that they were in no condition to undertake any thing, for that they were a crew of unresolved divided rogues; that they were never two days of a mind, that they had nobody to command, and therefore nobody to obey; that several things had been offered, but nothing concluded; that in short they thought of nothing but of shifting every one for himself as well as he could.

My mate replied, he thought it had been quite otherwise, and that made him tell them the night before, that he had an inclination to stay with them.

I heard you say so, said the gunner, and it made me smile; I thought in myself that you would
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be of another mind when you knew us a little better; for in a word, said he, if our people should agree to lend you a boat to go back to your ship, they would fall together by the ears about who should go with you, for not a man of them that went with you, would ever come back again hither, if your captain would take them on board, though the terms were to be hanged when they came to England.

My mate knew that this was my opinion before, but he was really of another mind himself, till he saw things, and till he talked with the gunner, and this put new thoughts in his head; so he entertained the gunner with a scheme of his own, and told him, if it was so as he related it, and that he had really a mind to come off from the gang, he believed that he could put him in a way how to do it to his advantage, and to take a set of his people with him, if he
could

could pick out some of them that might be depended upon.

The gunner replied, "I can pick out a set of very brave fellows, good seamen, and most of them such, as having been forced into the pirates ships, were dragged into that wicked life they had lived, not only against their consciences, but by a mere necessity to save their lives, and that they would be glad at any price to go off."

The mate then asked him, "Pray, gunner, how many such men can you answer for?"

"Why," says he, after a short pause, "I am sure I can answer for above a hundred."

Upon this my mate told him the circumstances we were in, the voyage we were upon, that we were a letter of mart ship of such a force, but that we were over manned and double stored, in hopes of getting a good ship upon our cruise, to man out of the other; that we had
been

been disappointed, and had only got the sloop or brigantine which we bought at the Cape, that if he could persuade the men to sell us one of their ships, we would pay them for it in ready money, and perhaps entertain an hundred of their men into the bargain.

The gunner told him, he would propose it to them, and added in positive terms, that he knew it would be readily accepted, and that he should take which of the three ships I pleased.

The mate then desired that he would lend him his shallop to go on board our ship, to acquaint me with it, and bring back sufficient orders to treat.

He told him, he would not only do that, but before I could be ready to go, he would propose it to the chief men that he had his eye upon, and would have their consent, and that then he would go along with him on board to make a bargain.

This

This was as well as our mate could expect, and the gunner had either so much authority among them, or the men were so forward to shift their station in the world, that the gunner came again to our mate in less than two hours, with an order, signed by about sixteen of their officers, empowering him to sell us the ship which the gunner was on board of, and to allot so many guns, and such a proportion of ammunition to her, as was sufficient, and to give the work of all their carpenters for so many days as were necessary to repair her, calk, and grave her, and put her in condition to go to sea.

She was a Spanish built ship, where they had her the gunner said he did not know; but she was a very strong tight ship, and a pretty good sailer. We made her carry two and thirty guns, though she had not been used to carry above twenty-four.

The gunner being thus impow-
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ered to treat with my mate, came away in their shallop, and brought the said gunner and two more of their officers with him and eight seamen. The gunner and I soon made a bargain for the ship, which I bought for five thousand pieces of eight, most of it in English goods, such as they wanted, for they were many of them almost naked of clothes; and as for other things they had scarce a pair of stockings or shoes among them.

When our bargain was made, and the mate had related all the particulars of the conference he had had with the gunner, we came to talk of the people who were to go with us: The gunner told us that we might indeed have good reason to suspect a gang of men who had made themselves infamous all over the world by so many piracies and wicked actions; but if I would put so much confidence in him, he would assure me, that as he should have the power in his hands to
pick

pick and chuse his men, so he would answer body for body for the fidelity of all the men he should chuse; and that most, if not all of them, would be such as had been taken by force out of other ships, or wheedled away when they were drunk: And he added, there never was a ship load of such penitents went to sea together as he would bring us.

When he said this, he began to intreat me that I would please to give him the same post which he held in the ship; viz. of gunner, which I promised him; and then he desired I would permit him to speak with me in private; I was not at first very free to it, but he having consented to let the mate and Captain Merlotte be present, I yielded.

When all the rest were withdrawn, he told me, that having been five years in the pirates service, as he might call it, and being obliged to do as they did, I

might be sure he had some small share in the purchase; and however he had come into it against his will, yet as he had been obliged to go with them, he had made some advantage; and that being resolved to leave them, he had a good while ago packed up some of the best of what he had got, to make his escape, and begged I would let him deposit it with me as a security for his fidelity.

Upon this he ordered a chest to be taken out of the shallop, and brought into my great cabin; and besides this, gave me out of his pocket a bag sealed up, the contents of which I shall speak of hereafter.

The shallop returned the next day, and I sent back the mate with my long boat and twenty-four men, to go and take possession of the ship, and appointed my carpenter to go and see to the repairs that were necessary to be done to her: And some days after, I sent Captain Merlotte with the super-cargo

cargo in our sloop, to go and secure the possession, and to cover the retreat of any of the men who might have a mind to come away, and might be opposed by the rest: And this was done at the request of the gunner, who foresaw there might be some debate about it.

They spent six weeks and some odd days in fitting out this ship, occasioned by the want of a convenient place to lay her on shore in, which they were obliged to make with a great deal of labour; however, she was at last compleatly fitted up.

When she was equipped they laid in a good store of provisions, though not so well cured as to last a great while. One of the best things we got a recruit of here was casks, which, as said before, we greatly wanted, and which their coopers assisted us to trim, season, and fit up.

As to bread, we had no help from them; for they not only had

none but what they made of rice, and they had no sufficient store of that.

But we had more to do yet: For when the ship was fitted up, and our men had the possession of her, they were surprized one morning, on a sudden, with a most horrible tumult among the pirates; and had not our brigantine been at hand to secure the possession, I believe they had taken the ship from our men again, and perhaps have came down with her and their two sloops, and have attacked us. The case was this:

The gunner, who was a punctual fellow to his word, resolved that none of the men should go in the ship but such as he had singled out; and they were such as were generally taken out of merchant ships by force: But when he came to talk to the men of who should go, and who should stay, truly they would all go, to a man, there was not a man of them would stay behind;

hind; and, in a word, they fell out about it to that degree that they came to blows, and the gunner was forced to fly for it, with about twenty-two men that stood to him, and six or seven were wounded in the fray, whereof two died.

The gunner being thus driven to his shifts made down to the shore to his boat, but the rogues were too nimble for him, and had got to his boat before him, and prepared to man her and two more, to go on board and secure the ship.

In this distress, the gunner, who had taken sanctuary in the woods at about a mile distance, but unhappily above the camp, so that the platform of guns was between him and the ship, had no remedy but to send one of his men, who swam very well, to take a compass round behind the pirates camp, and come to the water side below the camp and platform, so to take the water and swim on board the ship,

which lay near a league below their said camp, and give our men notice of what had happened, to warn them to suffer none of their men to come on board, unless the gunner was with them, and if possible, to send a boat on shore to fetch off the gunner and his men, who were following by the same way, and would be at the same place, and make a signal to them to come for him.

Our men had scarce received this notice, when they saw a boat full of men put off from the platform, and row down under shore towards them: But as they resolved not to suffer them to come on board, they called to them by a speaking trumpet, and told them they might go back again, for they should not come on board, nor any other boat, unless the gunner was on board.

They rowed on for all that, when our men called to them again, and told them, if they offered to put off, in order to come on board, or
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in short, to row down shore any farther than a little point which our men named, and which was just a head of them, they would fire at them. They rowed on for all this, and even till they were past the point; which our men seeing, they immediately let fly a shot, but fired a little a head of them so as not to hit the boat, and this brought them to a stop; so they lay upon their oars a while, as if they were considering what to do; when our men perceived two boats more come off from the platform, likewise full of men, and rowing after the first.

Upon this they called again to the first boat with their speaking trumpet, and told them if they did not all go immediately on shore, they would sink the boat. They had no remedy, seeing our men resolved, and that they lay open to the shot of the ship; so they went on shore accordingly, and then our men fired at the empty boat till

they split her in pieces, and made her useless to them.

Upon this firing, our brigantine, which lay about two leagues off in the mouth of a little creek, on the South of that river, weighed immediately, and stood away to the opening of the road where the ship lay, and the tide of flood being still running in, they drove up towards the ship for her assistance, and came to an anchor about a cable's length a head of her, but within pistol shot of the shore; at the same time sending two and thirty of her men on board the great ship to re-inforce the men on board, who were but sixteen in number.

Just at this time the gunner and his twenty-one men, who heard the firing, and had quickened their pace, though they had a great compass to fetch through woods and untrod paths, and some luggage to carry too, were come to the shore, and made the signal, which our
men

men in the ship observing, gave notice to the officer of the brigantine to fetch them on board, which he did very safely. By the way, as the officer afterwards told us, most of their luggage consisted in money, with which it seems every man of them was very well furnished, having shared their wealth at their first coming on shore: As for clothes, they had very few, and those all in rags; and as for linen, they had scarce a shirt among them all, or linen enough to have made a white flag for a truce, if they had had occasion for it: In short, a crew so rich and so ragged, were hardly ever seen before.

The ship was now pretty well manned, for the brigantine carried the gunner and his twenty-one men on board her; and the tide by this time being spent, she immediately unmoored, and loosed her top sails, which, as it happened, had been bent to the yards two days before, so with the first of the

ebb, she weighed and fell down about a league farther, by which she was quite out of reach of the platform, and rid in the open sea; and the brigantine did the same.

But by this means, they missed the occasion of the rest of the gunner's men, who having got together to the number of between seventy and eighty, had followed him and come down to the shore, and made the signals, but were not understood by our ship, which put the poor men to great difficulties; for they had broken away from the rest by force, and had been pursued half a mile by the whole body, particularly at the entrance into a very thick, woody place, and were so hard put to it, that they were obliged to make a desperate stand, and fire at their old friends, which had exasperated them to the last degree. But as the case of these men was desperate, they took an effectual method for their own security,

security, of which I shall give a farther account presently.

The general body of the pirates were now up in arms, and the new ship was, as it were, in open war with them, or at least they had declared war against it: But as they had been disappointed in their attempt to force it, and found they were not strong enough at sea to attack it, they sent a flag of truce on board. Our men admitted them to come to the ship side, but as my mate, who now had the command, knew them to be a gang of desperate rogues that would attempt any thing, though ever so rash, he ordered that none of them should come on board the ship, except the officer and two more, who gave an account that they were sent to treat with us. So we called them the ambassadors.

When they came on board, they expostulated very warmly with my new agent the second mate, that our men came in the posture of
friends,

friends, and of friends too in distress, and had received favours from them, but had abused the kindness, which had been shewn them; that they had bought a ship of them, and had had leave and assistance to fit her up and furnish her; but had not paid for her, or paid for what assistance and what provisions had been given to them: And that now to compleat all, their men had been partially and unfairly treated, and when a certain number of men had been granted us, an inferior fellow a gunner was set to call such and such men out, just whom he pleased, to go with us; whereas the whole body ought to have had the appointing who they would or would not give leave to, to go in the ship: That when they came in a peaceable manner to have demanded justice, and to have treated amicably of these things, our men had denied them admittance, had committed hostilities against them, had fired at their
their

their men and staved their boat, and had afterward received on board their deserters, all contrary to the rules of friendship. And in all these cases they demanded satisfaction.

Our new commander was a ready man enough, and he answered all their complaints with a great deal of gravity and calmness: He told them, that it was true we came to them as friends, and had received friendly usage from them, which we had not in the least dishonoured; but that as friends in distress, we had never pretended to be, and really were not; for that we were neither in danger of any thing, or in want of any thing; that as to provisions, we were strong enough, if need were, to procure ourselves provisions in any part of the island, and had been several times supplied from the shore by the natives, for which we had always fully satisfied the people who furnished us; and that we scorned
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to be ungrateful for any favour we should have received, much less to abuse it, or them for it.

That we had paid the full price of all the provisions we had received, and for the work that had been done to the ship, that what we had bargained for, as the price of the ship, had been paid, as far as the agreement made it due, and that what remained, was ready to be paid as soon as the ship was finished, which was our contract.

That as to the people who were willing to take service with us, and enter themselves on board, it is true, that the gunner and some other men offered themselves to us, and we had accepted of them, and we thought it was our part to accept or not to accept of such men as we thought fit. As for what was among themselves, that we had nothing to do with: that if we had been publickly warned by them not to have entertained any of their men, but with
consent

consent of the whole body, then indeed we should have had reason to be cautious; otherwise, we were not in the least concerned about it. That it is true, we refused to let their boats come on board us, being assured that they came in a hostile manner, either to take away the men by force, which had been entered in our service, or perhaps even to seize the ship itself; and why else was the first boat followed by two more full of men armed and prepared to attack us? That we not only came in a friendly manner to them, but resolved to continue in friendship with them, if they thought fit to use us as friends; but that considering what part of the world we were in, and what their circumstances were, they must allow us to be upon our guard, and not put ourselves in a condition to be used ill.

While he was talking thus with them in the cabin, he had ordered a can of flip to be made, and given
their

their men in the boat, and every one a dram, but would not suffer them to come on board; however one or two of them got leave to get in at one of the ports, and got between decks among our men; here they made terrible complaints of their condition, and begged hard to be entertained in our service; they were full of money, and gave twenty or thirty pieces of eight among our men, and by this present prevailed for two men to speak to my mate, who appeared as captain to take the boats crew on board.

The mate very gravely told the two ambassadors of it, and added, that seeing they were come with a flag of truce, he would not stop their men, without their consent, but the men being so earnest, he thought, they would do better not to oppose them. The ambassadors, as I call them, opposed it however vehemently, and at last desired to go and talk with the men, which was granted them readily.

When

When they came into their boat, their men told them plainly, that *One and all* they would enter themselves with their countrymen, that they had been forced already to turn pirates, and they thought, they might very justly turn honest men again by force, if they could not get leave to do it peaceably; and that in short, they would go on shore no more; that if the ambassadors desired it, they would set them on shore with the boat, but as for themselves, they would go along with the new captain.

When the ambassadors saw this, they had no more to do, but to be satisfied, and so were set on shore, where they desired, and their men stayed on board.

During this transaction, my mate had sent a full account to me of all that had passed, and had desired me to come on board, and give farther directions in all that was to follow; so I took our supercargo and Captain Merlotte, along with me, and

and some more of our officers, and went to them. It was my lot to come on board, just when the afore-said ambassadors were talking with my mate, so I heard most of what they had to say, and heard the answer my mate gave them, as above, which was extremely to my satisfaction; nor did I interrupt him, or take upon me any authority, though he would very submissively have had me shewn myself, as captain, but I bade him go on, and sat down, as not concerned in the affair at all.

After the ambassadors were gone, the first thing I did, was, in the presence of all the company, and having before had the opinion of those I brought with me, to tell my second mate, how well we were all satisfied with his conduct, and to declare him, captain of the ship, that he was in; only demanding his solemn oath, to be under orders of the great ship, as admiral; and to carry on no separate

rate interests from us, which he thankfully accepted, and to give him his due, as faithfully performed, all the rest of our very long voyage, and through all our adventures.

It was upon my seeming intercession, that he gave consent to the boat's crew, who brought the ambassadors, to remain in our service, and set their statesmen on shore; and in the end, I told him, that as far as about one hundred and fifty, or two hundred men, he should entertain whom he thought fit. Thus having settled all things in the ship to our satisfaction, we went back to our great ship the next day.

I had not been many hours on board, but I was surprized with the firing of three musquets from the shore; we wondered what should be the meaning of it, knowing, that it was an unusual thing in that place, where we knew the natives of the country had no fire-arms,

arms, so we could not tell what to make of it, and therefore took no notice, other than as I say, to wonder at it. About half an hour after, we heard three musquets more, and still not knowing any thing of the matter, we made them no return to the signal. Some time after, three musquets were fired again, but still we took no notice, for we knew nothing, of what return was to be made to it.

When night came on, we observed two great fires upon two several hills, on that part of the shore, opposite to us, and after that, three rockets were fired, such as they were, for they were badly constructed; I suppose their gunner was ill provided for such things, but all signified nothing; we would have made any return to them, that had been to be understood, but we knew nothing of any agreed signal; however I resolved, that I would send a boat
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on shore, well manned, to learn if possible, what the meaning of all this was; and accordingly in the morning, I sent our long boat and shallop on shore, with two and thirty men in them both, to get intelligence; ordering them if possible, to speak with some body, before they went on shore, and know how things stood; that then, if it was a party of the pirates, they should, by no means, come near them, but parly at a distance, till they knew the meaning of their behaviour.

As soon as my men came near the shore, they saw plainly, that it was a body of above an hundred of the pirates, but seeing them so strong, they stood off, and would not come nearer, nor near enough, to parly with them; upon this the men on shore, got one of the islanders canvas boats, or rather, boats made of skins, which are but sorry ones at best, and put off with two men, to manage the sail, and one fitter,

fitter, and two paddles for oars, and away they came toward us, carrying a flag of truce, that is to say, an old white rag; how they came to save so much linen among them all, was very hard to quest.

Our men could do no less, than receive their ambassador, and a flag of truce gave no shadow of apprehension, especially considering the figure they made, and that the men on shore had no other boats to surprize or attack us with; so they lay by upon their oars, till they came up, when they soon understood who they were; viz. that they were the gunner's selected men; that they came too late, to have their signal perceived from the other ship, which was gone out of sight of the place they were directed to; that they had with great difficulty, and five days and nights marching, got through a woody and almost impassable country to come at us; that they had fetched a circuit of near an hundred

dred miles, to avoid being attacked by their comrades, and that they were pursued by them, with their whole body, and therefore they begged to be taken on board; they added, if they should be overtaken by their comrades, they should be all cut in pieces, for that they had broke away from them by force, and moreover had been obliged at the first of their pursuit, to face about, and fire among them, by which they had killed six or seven of them, and wounded others, and that they had sworn, they would give them no quarter, if they could come fairly up with them.

Our men told them, they must be contented to remain on shore, where they were, for some time, for that they could do nothing, till they had been on board, and acquainted their captain with all the particulars, so they came back immediately to me for orders.

As to me, I was a little uneasy at the thoughts of taking them on

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board;

board; I knew they were a gang of pirates at best, and what they might do I knew not, but I sent them this message, that though all their tale might be very good for aught I knew, yet that I must take so much time, as to send an express to the captain of the other ship, to be informed of the faith of it; and that if he brought a satisfactory answer, I would send for them all on board.

This was very uncomfortable news to them, for they expected to be surrounded every hour by their comrades, from whom they were to look for no mercy; however seeing no remedy, they resolved to march about twenty miles farther South, and lie by in a place near the sea, where we agreed to send to them; concluding, that their comrades not finding them near the place where we lay, would not imagine, they could be gone farther that way; as they guessed, so it proved, for the pirates came to the

the shore, where they saw tokens enough of their having been there, but, seeing they could not be found, concluded they were all gone on board our ship.

The wind proving contrary, it was no less than four days before our boat came back, so that the poor men were held in great suspense: But when they returned, they brought the gunner with them, who had selected those men from all the rest for our new ship; and who, when he came, gave me a long account of them, and what care he had taken to pick them out for our service, delivering me also a letter from my new captain to the same purpose: Upon all which concurring circumstances, we concluded to take them on board; so we sent our boats for them, who at twice brought them all on board, and very stout young fellows they were.

When they had been on board some days and refreshed themselves,

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I concluded to send them all on board the new ship; but upon advice, I resolved to send sixty of my own men joined to forty of these, and keep thirty-four of them on board my ship; for their number was just seventy-four, which with the gunner and his twenty-one men, and the sixteen men who came with the worthy ambassadors, and would not go on shore again, made one hundred and twelve men; and as we all thought were enough for us, though we took in between forty and fifty more afterwards.

We were now ready to go to sea, and I caused the new ship and the brigantine to come away from the place where they lay and join us; which they did, and then we unloaded part of our provisions and ammunition; of which, as I observed at first, we had taken in double quantity; and having furnished the new ship, with a proportion of all things necessary, we prepared for our voyage.

I should

I should here give a long account of a second infernal conspiracy, which my two remaining prisoners had formed among the men; which was to betray the new ship to the pirates: But it is too long a story to relate here; nor did I make it publick among the ship's company: But as it was only, as it were, laid down in a scheme, and that they had no opportunity to put it in practice, I thought it was better to make as little noise of it as I could. So I ordered my new captain, for it was he who discovered it to me, to punish them in their own way, and without taking notice of their new villanies, to set them on shore, and leave them to take their fate with a set of rogues, whom they had intended to join with, and whose profession was likely, some time or other, to bring them to the gallows. And thus I was rid of two incorrigible mutineers; what became of them afterwards I never heard.

We were now a little fleet, (viz.) two large ships and a brigantine, well manned, and furnished with all sorts of necessaries for any voyage or any enterprize that was fit for men in our situation to undertake; and particularly here, I made a full design of the whole voyage, to be again openly declared to the men, and had them asked, one by one, if they were willing and resolved to undertake it, which they all very chearfully answered in the affirmative.

Here we had opportunity to furnish ourselves with a plentiful stock of excellent beef, which as I said before, we cured with little or no salt, by drying it in the sun; and I believe we laid in such a store, that in all our three vessels we had near a hundred and fifty ton of it; and it was of excellent use to us, and served us through the whole voyage: There was little else to be had in this place that was fit to be carried to sea; except, that as there

was plenty of milk, some of our men who were more dexterous than others, made several large cheefes; nor were they very far short of English cheese, only that we were but indifferent dairy folks: Our men made some butter also, and salted it to keep, but it grew rank and oily, and was of little use to us.

It was on the fifteenth of December that we left this place, a country fruitful, populous, full of cattle, large and excellent good beef and very fat; and the land able to produce all manner of good things; but the people wild, naked, black, barbarous, perfectly untractable, and insensible of any state of life being better than their own.

We stood away toward the shore of Arabia, till we past the line, and came into the latitude of eighteen degrees North, and then stood away East, and East by North, for the English factories of Surrat, and the coast of Malabar; not that we

had any business there, or designed any, only that we had a mind to take on board a quantity of rice, if we could come at it; which at last we effected by a Portuguese vessel, which we met with at sea, bound to Goa from the Gulph of Persia. We chased her and brought her too indeed, as if we resolved to attack and take the ship; but finding a quantity of rice on board, which was what we wanted, with a parcel of coffee; we took all the rice, but paid the supercargo, who was a Persian or Armenian merchant, very honestly for the whole parcel, his full price, and to his satisfaction: As for the coffee we had no occasion for it. We put in at several ports on the Indian Coast for fresh water, and fresh provisions, but came near none of the factories, because we had no mind to discover ourselves; for though we were to sail through the very center of the India trade, yet it was perfectly without any business
among

among them. We met indeed on this coast with some pearl fishers, who had been in the mouth of the Arabian Gulph, and had a large quantity of pearl on board. I would have traded with them for goods, but they understood nothing but money, and I refused to part with it : Upon which, the fellows gave our supercargo some scornful language, which, though he did not well understand what they said, yet he pretended to take it as a great affront, and threatened to make prize of their barks, and slaves of the men ; upon which, they grew very humble ; and one of them, a Malabar Indian, who spoke a little English, spoke for them, that they would willingly trade with us for such goods as we had ; whereupon I produced three bales of English cloth, which I shewed them, and said they would be of good merchandise at Gombaroon in the Gulph, for that

the Persians made their long vests of such cloths.

In short, for this cloth, and some money, we bought a box of choice pearls, which the chief of them had picked out from the rest for the Portuguese merchants at Goa; and which, when I came to London, was valued at two thousand two hundred pounds sterling.

We were near two months on our voyage from Madagascar to the coast of India, and from thence to Ceylon, where we put in, on the South West part of the island, to see what provisions we could get, and to take in a large supply of water.

The people here we found willing to supply us with provisions; but withal so sharp, imposing upon us their own rates for every thing; and withal, so false, that we were often provoked to treat them very rudely. However, I gave strict orders that they should not be hurt upon any occasion, at least, till we
had

had filled all our water casks, and taken in what fresh provisions we could get, and especially rice, which we valued very much: But they provoked us at last beyond all patience; for they were such thieves when they were on board, and such treacherous rogues when we were on shore, that there was no bearing with them; and two accidents fell out upon this occasion which fully broke the peace between us; one was on board and the other on shore, and both happened the same day.

The case on board was this: there came on board us a small boat, in which were eleven men and three boys, to sell us roots, yams, mangoes, and such other articles as was frequent for them to do every day; but this boat having more goods of that kind than usual, they were longer than ordinary making their market. While they were thus chaffering on board, one of them having wandered about the ship,

and pretending to admire every thing he saw, and being gotten between decks, was taken stealing a pair of shoes, which belonged to one of the seamen. The fellow being stopped for his theft, appeared angry, raised a hideous screaming noise to alarm his fellows; and at the same time, having stolen a long pair of scissars, pulled them out, and stabbed the man who had laid hold of him into the shoulder, and was going to repeat his blow, when the poor fellow who had been wounded, having struck up his heels and fallen upon him, had killed him, if I had not called to take him off, and bring the thief up to me.

Upon this order they laid hold of the barbarian, and brought him up with the shoes and the scissars that he had stolen, and as the fact was plain, and needed no witnesses, I caused all the rest of them to be brought up also; and as well as we could,

could, made them understand what he had done.

They made pitiful signs of fear, lest they should all be punished for his crime, and particularly when they saw the man whom he had wounded brought in; then they expected nothing but death, and they made a sad lamentation and howling, as if they were all to die immediately.

It was not without a great deal of difficulty that I found ways to satisfy them, that nobody was to be punished but the man that had committed the fact; and then I caused him to be brought to the geers, with a halter about his neck, and be soundly whipped; and indeed our people did scourge him severely from head to foot, and I believe, if I had not run myself to put an end to it, they would have whipped him to death.

When this punishment was over they put him into their boat and let them all go on shore: But no
fooner

sooner were they on shore, but they raised a terrible outcry in all the villages and towns near them, and they were not a few, the country being very populous; and great numbers came down to the shore, staring at us, and making confused ugly noises, and abundance of arrows they shot at the ship, but we rode too far from the shore for them to do us any hurt.

While this was doing, another fray happened on shore, where two of our men, bargaining with an islander and his wife for some fowls, they took their money and gave them part of the fowls, and pretended the woman should go and fetch the rest. While the woman was gone, three or four fellows came to the man who was left; when, talking a while together, and seeing our men were but two, they began to take hold of the fowls which had been sold, and would take them away again; when one of our men stepped up to the fellow

fellow who had taken them, and went to lay hold of him, but he was too nimble for him, and ran away and carried off the fowls and the money too. The seamen were so enraged to be so served, that they took up their pieces, for they had both fire arms with them, and fired immediately after him, and aimed his shot so well, that though the fellow flew like the wind, he shot him through the head, and he dropped down dead upon the spot.

The rest of them, though terribly frightened, yet seeing our men were but two, and the noise bringing twenty or thirty more immediately to them, attacked our men with their lances, and bows and arrows; and in a moment there was a pitched battle of two men only against twenty or thirty, and their number increasing too.

In short, our men spent their shot freely among them as long as it lasted, and killed six or seven, besides wounding ten or eleven more,

more, and this cooled their courage, and they seemed to give over the battle; and our men, whose ammunition was almost spent, began to think of retreating to their boat, which was near a mile off, for they were very unhappily gotten from their boat so far up the country.

They made their retreat pretty well for about half the way, when, on a sudden, they saw they were not pursued only, but surrounded, and that some of their enemies were before them. This made them double their pace, and seeing no remedy, they resolved to break through those that were before them, who were about eleven or twelve: Accordingly, as soon as they came within pistol shot of them, one of our men having, for want of shot, put almost a handful of gravel and small stones into his piece, and fired among them, and the gravel and stones scattering, wounded almost all of them; for
they

they being naked from the waist upwards, the least grain of sand scratched and hurt them, and made them bleed if it only entered the skin.

Being thus compleatly scared, and indeed more afraid than hurt, they all ran away, except two who were really wounded with the shot or stones, and lay upon the ground: Our men let them lay, and made the best of their way to their boat; where, at last, they got safe, but with a great number of the people at their heels. Our men did not stay to fire from the boat, but put off with all the speed they could, for fear of poisoned arrows, and the country people poured so many of their arrows into the boat after them, and aimed them also so truly, that two of our men were hurt with them; but whether they were poisoned or not, our surgeons cured them both.

We had enough of Ceylon, and having no business to make such a kind

kind of war as this must have been, in which we might have lost, but could get nothing, we weighed and stood away to the East. What became of the fellow that we lashed, we know not, but as he had but little flesh left on his back which was not mangled and torn with our whipping him, and we suppose they are but indifferent surgeons, our people said the fellow could not live; and the reason they gave for it was, because they did not pickle him after it. Truly, they said, that they would not be so kind to him as to pickle him: For though pickling, that is to say, throwing salt and vinegar on the back after the whipping, is cruel enough, as to the pain it is to the patient, yet it is certainly the way to prevent mortification, and causes it to heal again with the more ease.

We stood over from Ceylon East South East cross the great bay of Bengal, leaving all the coast
of

of Coromandel, and standing directly for Achen, on the North point of the great island of Sumatra, and in the latitude of six degrees thirty-one minutes North.

Here we spread our French colours, and coming to an anchor, suffered none of our men to go on shore but Captain Merlotte and his Frenchmen; and having nothing to do there, or any where else in the Indian seas, but to take in provisions and fresh water, we stayed but five days; in which time we supplied ourselves with what the place would afford; and pretending to be bound for China, we went on to the South, through the straits of Malacca, between the island of Sumatra, and the main or isthmus of Malacca.

We had here a very difficult passage, though we took two pilots on board at Achen, who pretended to know the straits perfectly well; twice we were in very great danger of being lost, and once our
Madagascar

Madagascar ship was so entangled among rocks and currents, that we gave her up for lost, and twice she struck upon the rocks, but she did but touch, and went clear.

We went several times on shore among the Malayans, as well on the shore of Malacca itself, as on the side of Sumatra. They are a fierce, cruel, treacherous, and merciless crew of human devils as any I have met with on the face of the whole earth; and we had some skirmishes with them, but not of any consequence. We made no stay any where in this strait, but just for fresh water, and what other fresh provisions we could get, such as roots, greens, hogs, and fowls, of which they have plenty and a great variety: But nothing to be had but for ready money; which our men took so unkindly, and especially their offering two or three times to cheat them, and once to murder them, that afterward they made no scruple to go on shore a hundred

hundred or more at a time, and plunder and burn what they could not carry off; till at last we began to be such a terror to them, that they fled from us wherever we came.

On the fifth of March we made the southernmost point of the isthmus of Malacca, and the island and straits of Sincapora, famous for its being the great outlet into the Chinese sea, and lying in the latitude of one degree fifteen minutes North latitude.

We had good weather through these straits, which was very much to our comfort; the different currents, and number of little islands, making it otherwise very dangerous, especially to strangers. We got, by very good luck, a Dutch pilot to carry us through this strait, who was a very useful skilful fellow, but withal so impertinent and inquisitive, that we knew not what to say to him, nor what to do with him: At last he grew saucy and insolent,

insolent, and told our chief mate that he did not know but we might be pirates, or at least enemies to his countrymen the Dutch; and if we would not tell him who we were, and whither we were bound, he would not pilot us any farther.

This I thought very insolent, to a degree beyond what was sufferable; and I bade the boatswain put a halter about the fellow's neck, and tell him, that the moment he omitted to direct the steerage as a pilot, or the moment the ship came to any misfortune, or struck upon any rock, he should be hung up.

The boatswain, a rugged fellow, provides himself with a halter, and coming up to the pilot, asked him, *What it was he wanted to be satisfied in?*

The pilot said, he desired to have a true account whither we were going.

"*Why,*" says the boatswain, "*we are a going to the devil, and I shall send you before to tell him we are*

are coming ;” and with that, he pulls the halter out of his pocket, and puts it over his head ; and taking the other end of it in his hand, “ *Come,*” says the boatswain, “ *come along with me ; do you think we can’t go through the Strait of Sincapora without your help ? I warrant you,*” says he, “ *we will do without you.*”

By this time it may be supposed the Dutchman to be in a mortal fright, and half choaked too with being dragged by the throat with the halter, and full heartily he begged for his life : At length, the boatswain, who had pulled him along a good way, stopped, and the Dutchman fell down on his knees ; but the boatswain said, he had the captain’s orders to hang him, and hang him he would, unless the captain recalled his orders ; but that he would stay so long, if any body would go up to the captain, and tell him what the Dutchman said, and bring back an answer.

I had

I had no design to hang the poor fellow it is true, and the boatswain knew that well enough: However, I was resolved to humble him effectually, so I sent back two men to the boatswain; the first was to tell the boatswain aloud, that the captain was resolved to have the fellow hanged, for having been so impudent to threaten to run the ship a-ground: But then the second, *who was to stay a little behind*, was to call out, as if he came since the first from me, and that I had been prevailed with to pardon him, on his promises of better behaviour: This was all acted to admiration; for the first messenger called aloud to the boatswain, that the captain said he would have the Dutchman hanged for a warning to all pilots, and to teach them not to insult men when they are in difficulties, as the midwives do whores in labour, and will not deliver them till they confess who is the father.

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The boatswain had the end of the halter in his hand all the while; "*I told you so,*" says he, "*before; come, come along, Myn-beer, I shall quickly do your work, and put you out of your pain;*" and then he dragged the poor fellow along to the main-mast. By this time the second messenger came in and delivered *his* part of the errand, and so the poor Dutchman was put out of his fright, and they gave him a dram to restore him a little, and he did his business very honestly afterwards.

And now we were at liberty again, being in the open sea, which was what we were very impatient for before. We made a long run over that part which we call the Sea of Borneo, and the upper part of the Indian Arches, called so for its being full of islands, like the Archipelago of the Levant. It was a long run, but as we were to the North of the islands, we had the more sea room; so we steered

East half a point, one way or other, for the Manillas, or Phillipine Islands; which was the true design of our voyage; and, perhaps, we were the first ship that ever came to those islands freighted from Europe since the Portuguese lost their footing there.

We put in on the North coast of Borneo for fresh water, and were civilly used by the inhabitants of the place, who brought us roots and fruits of several kinds, and some goats, which we were glad of: We paid them in trifles, such as knives, scissars, toys, and several sorts of wrought iron, hatchets, hammers, glass-work, looking-glasses, and drinking-glasses; and from hence we went away, as I said, for the Phillipine islands.

We saw several islands in our way, but made no stop except once for water, and arrived at Manilla the twenty-second of May, all our vessels in very good condition, our men healthy, and our ships sound;
having

having met with very few contrary winds, and not one storm in the whole voyage from Madagascar. We had now been seventeen months and two days on our voyage from England.

When we arrived we saluted the Spanish flag, and came to an anchor, carrying French colours. Captain Merlotte, who now acted as commander, sent his boat on shore the next day to the Governor, with a respectful letter in French; telling him, that having the King of France's commission, and being come into those seas, he hoped, that for the friendship which was between their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, he should be allowed the freedom of commerce, and the use of the port; the like having been granted to his Most Christian Majesty's subjects in all the ports of New Spain, as well in the Southern as in the Northern seas.

The Spanish Governor returned

a very civil and obliging answer, and immediately granted us to buy what provisions we pleased for our supply, or any thing else for our use; but added, that as for allowing any exchange of merchandizes, or giving leave for European goods to be brought on shore there, he was not empowered to grant.

We made it appear as if this answer was satisfactory; and the next morning Captain Merlotte sent his boat on shore with all French sailors, and a French midshipman, with a handsome present to the Governor; consisting of some bottles of French wine, some brandy, two pieces of fine Holland, two pieces of English black baize, one piece of fine French drugget, and five yards of scarlet woollen cloth.

This was too considerable a present for a Spaniard to refuse; and yet these were all European goods, which he seemed not to allow to come on shore. The governor let
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the captain know that he accepted his present; and the men who brought it were very handsomely entertained by the governor's order, and had every one a small piece of gold; and the officer who went at their head had five pieces of gold given him: What coin it was I could not tell, but I think it was a Japan coin, and the value something less than a pistole.

The next day the governor sent a gentleman with a large boat, and in it a present to our captain; consisting of two cows, ten sheep, or goats, for they were between both; a number of fowls of several sorts, and twelve great boxes of sweet-meats and preserves, all of which were indeed very acceptable; and invited the captain and any of his attendants on shore, offering to send hostages on board for our safe return; and concluding with his word of honour for our safety, and free going back to our ships.

The captain received the present

with very great respect, and indeed it was a very noble present; for at the same time a boat was sent to both the other ships with provisions and sweetmeats, in proportion to the size of the vessels. Our captain caused the gentleman who came with this present, to have a fine piece of crimson English cloth given him, sufficient to make a waistcoat and breeches of their fashion, with a very good hat, two pair of silk stockings, and two pair of gloves; and all his people had a piece of drugget given them sufficient to make them the like suit of clothes; the persons who went to the other ship, and to the brigantine, had presents in proportion.

This, in short, was neither more or less than trading and bartering, though, from supercilious punctilio, we had in a manner been denied it.

The next day the captain went on shore to visit the governor, and
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with him several of our officers, and the captain of the Madagascar ship, formerly my second mate, and the captain of the brigantine. I did not go myself for that time, nor the supercargo, because, whatever might happen, I would be reserved on board; besides, I did not care to appear in this part of the business.

The captain went on shore *like* a captain, attended with his two trumpeters, and the ship firing eleven guns at his going off. The governor received him like himself, with prodigious state and formality; sending five gentlemen and a guard of soldiers to receive him and his men at their landing, and to conduct them to his palace.

When they came there, they were entertained with the utmost profusion and magnificence, after the Spanish manner; and they all had the honour to dine with his excellence; that is to say, all the officers. At the same time the

men were entertained very handsomely in another house, and had very good cheer: But it was observed, that they had very little wine, except such as we had sent them; which the Governor apologized for, by saying his store, which he had yearly from New Spain, being nearly spent. This deficiency we supplied the next day, by sending him a quarter cask of very good Canary, and a half hoghead of Madeira; which was a present so acceptable, that in short, after this, we might do just as we pleased with him, and all his men.

While they were thus conversing together, after dinner, Captain Merlotte was made to understand, that though the governor could not admit an open avowed trade, yet that the merchants would not be forbid coming on board our ship, and trading with us in such manner as we should be very well satisfied with; after which, we should be at no hazard of getting the

the goods we should sell, put on shore; and we had an experiment of this made in a few days as follows.

When Captain Merlotte took his leave of the governor, he invited his Excellence to come on board our ship, with such of his attendants as he pleased to bring with him, and in like manner offered hostages for his return. The governor accepted the invitation, and with the same generosity said, he would take his parole of honour given, as he was the king of France's captain and would come on board.

The governor did not come to the shore side with our people, but stood in the window of the palace, and gave them the compliment of his hat and leg at their going into their boats, and made a signal to the platform, to fire eleven guns at their boats putting off.

These were unusual and unexpected honours to us, who, but

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for this stratagem of the French commission, had been declared enemies. It was suggested to me here, that I might with great ease surprize the whole island, nay all the islands, the governor putting such confidence in us, that we might go on shore in the very fort unsuspected. But though this was true, and that we did play them a trick at the Rio de la Plata, I could not bear the thoughts of it here; besides, I had quite another game to play, which would turn out more advantageous to us and to our voyage, than an enterprize of so much treachery could be to England, which also, we might not be able to support from thence, before the Spaniards might beat us out again from Acapulco, and then we might pass our time ill enough.

Upon the whole I resolved to keep every punctilio with the governor very justly, and we found our account in it presently.

About three days afterwards we
had

had notice, that the governor would make us a visit, and we prepared to entertain his Excellence with as much state as possible. By the way we had private notice, that the governor would bring with him some merchants, who perhaps might lay out some money, and buy some of our cargo; nor was it without a secret intimation, that even the governor himself was concerned in the market that should be made.

Upon this intelligence, our supercargo caused several bales of English and French goods to be brought up and opened, and laid so in the steerage and upon the quarter deck of the ship, that the governor and his attendants should see them of course as they passed by.

When the boats came off from the shore, which we knew by their fort firing eleven guns, our ship appeared as fine as we could make her, having the French flag at the main top as admiral, and streamers

and pendants at the yard arms, waste cloths out, and a very fine awning over the quarter deck. When his Excellency entered the ship, we fired one and twenty guns, the Madagascar ship fired the like number, and the brigantine fifteen, having loaded her guns nimbly enough to fire twice.

As the governor's entertainment to us, was more meat than liquor, so we gave him more liquor than meat; for as we had several sorts of very good wines on board, we spared nothing to let him see, he was very welcome. After dinner we brought a large bowl of punch upon the table, a liquor he was a stranger to: However, to do him justice, he drank very moderately, and so did most of those that were with him. As to the men that belonged to his retinue, I mean servants and attendants and the crews of the boats, we made some of them drunk enough.

While this was doing, two gentlemen

tlemen of the governor's company, took occasion to leave the rest and walk about the ship, and in so doing, they seemed, as it were by chance, to cast their eyes upon our bales of cloth and stuffs, baize, linen, silks, &c. and our supercargo and they began to make bargains apace, for he found they had not only money enough, but had abundance of other things, which we were as willing to take as money, and of which they had brought specimens with them; as particularly spices, such as cloves and nutmegs; also China ware, tea, japaned ware, wrought silks, raw silk, and the like.

However our supercargo dealt with them at present for nothing but ready money, and they paid all in gold: the price he made here, was to us indeed extravagant, though to them moderate, seeing they had been used to buy these goods from the Acapulco ships, which came in yearly, from whom,
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to be sure, they bought dear enough. They bought as many goods at this time, as they paid the value of fifteen thousand pieces of eight for, but all in gold by weight.

As for carrying our goods on shore, the governor being present, no officer had any thing to say to them; so they were carried on shore as presents, made by us to the governor and his retinue.

The next day three Spanish merchants came on board us, early in the morning before it was light, and desired to see the supercargo. They brought with them a box of diamonds and some pearl, and a great quantity of gold, and to work they went with our cargo, and I thought once, they would have bought the whole ship's loading; but they contented themselves to buy about the value of two and twenty thousand pieces of eight, which did not cost in England, one sixth part of the money.

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We had some difficulty about the diamonds, because we did not understand the worth of them, but our supercargo ventured upon them at ten thousand pieces of eight, and took the rest in gold. They desired to stay on board till the next night, when, soon after it was dark, a small sloop came on board, and took in all their goods, and as we were told, carried them away to some other island.

The same day and before these merchants were gone, came a large shallop on board with a square sail, towing after her a great heavy boat, which had a deck, but seemed to have been a large ship's long boat, built into a kind of yatch, but ill masted, and sailed heavily. In these two boats they brought seven tons of cloves in matts, some chests of China ware, some pieces of China silks, of several sorts, and a great sum of money also.

In short, the merchants sold so cheap and bought so dear, that
our

our supercargo declared, he would sell the whole cargo for goods, if they would bring them, for by his calculation he had disposed of as many goods as he received the value of one hundred thousand pieces of eight for, all which, by his accounts did not amount to, first cost, above three thousand pounds sterling in England.

Our ship was now an open fair; for, two or three days after, came the vessel back, which went away in the night, and with them a Chinese jonque, and seven or eight Chinese or Japanners; strange, ugly, ill-looking fellows they were, but brought a Spaniard to be their interpreter, and they came to trade also, bringing with them seventy great chests of China ware, exceeding fine, twelve chests of China silks of several sorts, and some laquered cabinets very fine. We dealt with them for all those, for our supercargo left nothing, he took every thing they brought. Our traders

ders were more difficult to please than we; for as for baize, and druggets, and such goods, they would not meddle with them; but our fine cloths and some bales of linen they bought very freely. So we unloaded their vessel, and put our goods on board; we took a good sum of money of them besides, but whither they went we knew not, for they both came and went in the night too, as the other did.

This trade held a good while, and we found, that our customers came more from other islands, than from the island where the governor resided, the reason of which, as we understood afterwards, was, because as the governor had not openly granted a freedom of commerce, but privately winked at it, so they were not willing to carry it on openly before his face, or as we say, under his nose, whereas in other islands, they could convey their goods on shore with very little hazard,

hazard, agreeing with the custom-house officer for a small matter.

These boats came and went thus several times; till in short we had disposed almost of the whole cargo; and now our men began to be convinced, that we had laid out our voyage very right, for never was cargo better sold; and as we resolved to pursue our voyage for New Spain, we had taken in a cargo very proper to sell there, and so perhaps to double the advantage we had already made.

In the mean time, all our hands were at work to store ourselves anew, with such provisions, as could be had here for so long a run, as we knew we were to have next; namely, over the vast Pacifick ocean or South Sea, a voyage where we might expect to see no land for four months, except we touch'd at the Ladrones, as it might happen; and our greatest anxiety was for want of water, which our whole ship could scarce be able to stow sufficient

cient for our use, and if they could, our want of casks was still as bad as the want of water, for we really knew not what to put water in when we had it.

The Spaniards had helped us to some casks but not many, those that they could spare were but small, and at last we were obliged to make use of about two hundred large earthen jars, which were of singular use to us. We got a large quantity of good rice here, which we bought of a Chinese merchant, who came in here with a large China vessel to trade, and who bought of us also several of our European goods.

Just as we were ready to sail, a boat came from the town of Manila, and brought a new merchant, who wanted more English goods, but we had but few left; he brought with him thirty chests of calicoes, muslins, wrought silks, some of them admirably fine indeed, with fifteen bales of romals, and twelve tons of nutmegs. We
fold

fold him what goods we had left, and gave him money for the rest, but had them at a price so cheap, as was sufficient to let us know, that it was always well worth while, for ships to trade from Europe to the East Indies; from whence they are sure to make five or six of one. Had more of these merchants come on board, we were resolved to have laid out all the gold and silver we had, which was a very considerable quantity.

The last merchant, who came on board us, was a Spaniard, but I found, that he spoke very good French, and some English, that he had been in England some years before, and understood English woollen manufactures very well. He told me, he had all his present goods from Acapulco, but that they were then excessive dear. He had considerable dealings with the Chinese, and some with the coast of Coromandel, and Bengal, and kept a vessel or two of his own to go to Bengal,

Bengal, which generally went twice in a year.

I found, he had great business with New Spain, and that he generally had one of the Acapulco ships chiefly consigned to him; so that he was full of all such goods, as those ships generally carried away from the Manillas, and had we traded with him sooner, we should have had more calicoes and muslins than we now had: however we were exceedingly well stored with goods of all sorts, suitable for a market in Peru, whither I resolved to go.

We continued chaffering after this manner about nine weeks, during which time, we careened our ships, cleaned their bottoms, rummaged our gold, and repacked some of our provisions; endeavouring as much as possible, to keep all our men as fully employed as we could, to preserve them in health, and yet not to over work them: considering the heat of the climate.

Some time before we were ready
to

to fail, I called all the warrant officers together, and told them, that as we were come to a country where abundance of small things were to be bought, and going to a country where we might possibly have an opportunity to sell them again to advantage, I would advance to every officer an hundred dollars, upon account of their pay, that they might lay it out here, and dispose of it again on the coast of New Spain to advantage. This was very acceptable to them, and they acknowledged it; and here, besides this, by the consent of all our superior officers, I gave a largess or bounty of five dollars a man, to all our fore-mast men; most of which I believe they laid out in arrack and sugar, to cheer them up in the rest of the voyage, which they all knew would be long enough.

We went away from Manilla, in the island of Luconia, the fifteenth of the month of August, and in the year 1714; and sailing
a while

a while to the Southward, passed the straits between that island and Mindora, another of the Phillippines, where we met with little extraordinary, except extraordinary lightning and thunders, such as we never heard or saw before, though it seems it is very familiar in that climate; till about sixteen days sailing, we saw the isle of Guam, one of the Ladrones, or Island of Thieves, for so much the word imports; here we came to an anchor, Sept. 3, under the lee of a steep shore, on the North side of the isle of Guam; but, as we wanted no trade here, we did not at first enquire after the chief port, or Spanish governor, or any thing of that kind; but we changed our situation the next day, and went through the passage, to the East side of the island, and came to an anchor near the town.

The people came off, and brought us hogs and fowls, and several sorts of roots and greens, articles
which

which we were very glad of, and which we bought the more of, because we always found that such things were good to keep the men from the scurvy, and even to cure them of it if they had it: we took in fresh water here also, tho' it was with some difficulty, the water lying half a mile from the shore.

When I parted from Manilla, and was getting through the strait between the island Luconia and that of Mindora, I had some thoughts of steering away North, to try what land we might meet with to the North East of the Phillipines; and with intent to have endeavoured to make up into the latitude of fifty or sixty degrees, and have come about again to the South, between the island of California and the main land of America; in which course, I did not question meeting with extraordinary new discoveries, and perhaps such as the age might not expect to hear of, relating to the Northern world,

world, and the possibility of a passage out of those seas, either East or West, both which, I doubt not, would be found, if they were searched after this way; and which, for aught I know, remain undiscovered for want only of an attempt being made by those seas, where it would be easy to find whether the Tartarian seas are navigable or not; and whether Nova Zembla be an island, or joined to the main; whether the inlets of Hudson's Bay have any opening into the West sea; and whether the vast lakes, from whence the great river of Canada is said to flow, have any communication this way, or not.

But though these were valuable discoveries, yet when I began to cast up the account in a more serious manner, they appeared to have no relation to, or coherence with our intended voyage, or with the design of our employers, which we were to consider in the first place; for though it is true, that

we were encouraged to make all such kinds of useful discoveries, as might tend to the advantage of trade, and the improvement of geographical knowledge and experience; yet it was all to be so directed, as to be subservient to the profits and advantages of a trading and cruising voyage.

It is true, that these Northern discoveries might be infinitely great, and most glorious to the British nation, by opening new sources of wealth and commerce in general: yet, as I have said, it was evident, that they tended directly to destroy the voyage, either as to trading or to cruising, and might perhaps end in our own destruction also: For example, first of all, if adventuring into those Northern seas, we should, by our industry, make out the discovery, and find a passage, either East or West, we must follow the discovery so as to venture quite thro', or else we could not be sure that it was really a discovery; for these passages

passages would not be like doubling Cape de Bon Esperance, on the point of Africa, or going round Cape Horn, the Southernmost point of America, either of which were compassed in a few days, and then immediately gave an opening into the Indian or Southern oceans, where good weather and certain refreshment were to be had.

Whereas, for the discovery in the North, after having passed the Northernmost land of Grand Tartary, in the latitude of seventy-four, even to eighty degrees, and perhaps to the very North pole, there must be a run West, beyond the most Northerly point of Nova Zembla, and on again West South West about the North Kyn and North Cape above six hundred leagues, before we could come to have any relief of the climate; after that one hundred and sixty leagues more, and even to Shetland and the North of Scotland, before we could meet with any relief of provisions,

M 2 which,

which, after the length we must have run, from the latitude of three degrees and a half, where we now were at the Phillipine islands, to seventy-four degrees North, being near five thousand miles, would be impossible to be done; unless we were sure to victual, and furnish ourselves again, with provisions and water by the way, and that in several places.

As to the other passage East, towards the continent of America, we had this uncertainty also; namely, that it was not yet discovered, whether the land of California was an island or a continent, and if it should prove the latter, so as that we should be obliged to come back to the West, and not be able to find an opening, between California and the land of North America, so as to come away to the coast of Mexico, to Acapulco, and so into the South Sea, and at the same time should not find a passage through Hudson's

fon's Bay, &c. into the North Sea, and so to Europe, we should not only spoil the voyage that way also, but should infallibly perish by the severity of the season, and want of provisions.

All these things argued against any attempt that way; whereas on the other hand, for Southern discoveries we had this particular encouragement; that whatever disappointment we might meet with, in the search after unknown countries, yet we were sure of an open sea behind us; and that whenever we thought fit, to run South beyond the Tropick, we should find innumerable islands, where we might get water, and some sort of provisions, or come back into a favourable climate, and have the benefit of the trade winds, to carry us either backward or forward, as the season should happen to guide us.

Last of all, we had this assurance, that, the dangers of the seas except-

ed, we were sure of an outlet before us, if we went forward, or behind us, if we were forced back; and having a rich cargo, if we were to do nothing but go home, we should be able to give our employers such an account of ourselves, as that they would be very far from being losers by the voyage; but that if we reached safe to the coast of New Spain, and met with an open commerce there, as we expected, we should perhaps make the most prosperous voyage that was ever made round the globe before.

These considerations put an end to all my thoughts of going Northward; some of our secret council, for by the way, we consulted our foremast men no more, but had a secret council among ourselves, the resolutions of which we solemnly engaged not to disclose: some of these, I say, were for steering the usual course, from the Phillipines to New Spain, viz. keeping in the latitudes of eleven or thirteen degrees,

grees, North of the line, and so making directly for California; in which latitude they proposed, that we might perhaps, by cruising there about, meet with the Manilla ships, going from New Spain to Manilla, which we might take as a prize, and then stand directly for the coast of Peru.

But I opposed this; principally, because it would effectually overthrow all my meditated discoveries to the Southward; and secondly, because I had observed, that on the North of the line, there are no islands to be met with, in all the long run, of near two thousand leagues, from Guam one of the Ladrones, to the land of California; and that we did not find we were able to subsist during so long a run, especially for want of water; whereas on the South of the line, as well within the Tropick as without, we were sure to meet with islands innumerable, and that even all the way; so that we were

sure of frequent relief of fresh water, of plants, fowl, and fish, if not of bread and flesh, almost all the way.

This was a main consideration to our men, and so we soon resolved to take the Southern course; yet, as I said, we stood away for the Ladrões first. These are a cluster of islands, which lie in about eleven to thirteen degrees North latitude, North East from the Moluccoes, or spice islands, and East and by North from that part of the Philippines where we were, and at the distance of about four hundred leagues, and all the ships, which go or come between the Philippines and New Spain, touch at them, for the convenience of provisions, water, &c. those that go to Spain, put in there, in order to recruit and furnish for, and those that come from Spain, to relieve themselves after so long a run as that of six thousand miles, for so much it is at least from Guam to Acapulco; on these accounts,

accounts, and with these reasonings, we came to the isles of the Ladrones.

During our run between the Phillipine and Ladrone islands, we lived wholly upon our fresh provisions, of which we laid in a great stock at Manilla, such as hogs, fowls, calves, and six or seven cows, all alive, so that our English beef and pork, which lay well stored, was not touched for a long time.

At the Ladrones we recruited, and particularly took on board, as well alive as pickled up, near two hundred hogs, with a vast store of roots, and such things as are their usual food in that country. We took in also above three thousand cocoa nuts and cabbages; yams, potatoes and other roots for our own use, and in particular we got a large quantity of maize, or Indian wheat for bread, and some rice.

We stored ourselves likewise with oranges and lemons, and buying a great quantity of very good limes,

we made three or four hogshheads of lime juice; which was a great relief to our men in the hot season, to mix with their water; as for making punch, we had some arrack and some sugar, but neither of them in any such quantity, so as to have much punch made afore the mast.

We were eighteen days on our passage from the strait of Mindora to Guam, and stayed six days at the latter, furnishing ourselves with provisions, appearing all this while with French colours, and Captain Merlotte as commander: however, we made no great ceremony here with the Spanish governor, as I have said already, only that Captain Merlotte, after we had been here two days, sent a letter to him by a French officer, who showing his commission from the King of France, the governor presently gave us product, as we call it, and leave to buy what provisions we wanted.

In compliment for this civility,
we

we sent the governor a small present of fine scarlet camblet, and two pieces of baize; and he made a very handsome return, in such refreshments as he thought we most wanted.

There was another reason for our keeping in this latitude till we came to the Ladrones; namely, that all the Southern side of that part of the way between the Philipines and the Ladrones, is so full of islands, that unless we had been provided with very good pilots, it would have been extremely hazardous; and add to this, that beyond these islands South, is no passage; the land, which they call Nova Guinea, lying away East and East South East, farther than has yet been discovered; so that it is not yet known, whether that country be an island or the continent.

Having for all these reasons gone to the Ladrones, and being sufficiently satisfied in our reasons, for going away from thence to the

Southward, and having stored ourselves as above, with whatever those islands produced, we left the Ladrões the tenth day of September in the evening, and stood away East South East, with the wind North North West, a fresh gale; after this, I think, it was about five days, when having stretched by our account about an hundred and fifty leagues, we steered away more to the Southward, our course South-East by South.

And now, if ever, I expected to do something by way of discovery; I knew very well there were few, if any, had ever steered that course; or that if they had, they had given very little account of their travels. The only persons who leave any thing worth notice being Cornelius Vanschouton and Francis La Mare, who, though they sailed very much South, yet say little to the purpose, as I shall presently shew.

The sixteenth day after we parted
from

from the Ladrones, being, by observation, in the latitude of seventeen degrees South of the line, one of our men cried a sail! a sail! which put us into some fit of wonder, knowing nothing of a ship of any bulk could be met with in those seas; but our fit of wonder was soon turned to a fit of laughter, when one of our men from the foretop, cried out land, which indeed was the case; and the first sailor was sufficiently laughed at for his mistake, though giving him his due, it looked at first as like a sail, as ever any land at a distance could look.

Towards evening, we made the land very plain, distance about seven leagues South by East, and found that it was not an island, but a vast tract of land, extended, as we had reason to believe, from the side of Gilolo, and the spice islands, or that which we call Nova Guinea, and never yet fully discovered. The land lying away
from

from the West North West, to the South East by South, still Southerly.

I, that was for making all possible discovery, was willing, besides the convenience of water, and perhaps fresh provisions, to put in here, and see what kind of country it was: So I ordered the brigantine to stand in for the shore: They founded, but found no ground within half a league of the shore; so they hoisted out their boat and went close in with the shore, where they found good anchor hold in about thirty-six fathom, and a large creek, or mouth of a river; here they found eleven to thirteen fathom soft ouzy sand, and the water half fresh at the mouth of the creek.

Upon notice of this, we stood in, and came all to an anchor in the very creek; and sending our boats up the creek, found the water perfectly fresh and very good
upon

upon the ebb, about a league up the river.

Among all the islands in this part of the world, that is to say, from the Phillipines Eastward, of which there are an infinite number, we never came near any, but we found ourselves surrounded with canoes and variety of boats, bringing off to us cocoa nuts, plantanes, roots and greens, to traffick for such things as they could get: and that in such numbers, we were tired with them, and sometimes alarmed, and obliged to fire at them. But here though we saw great numbers of people at a distance from the shore, yet we saw not one boat or bark, nor any thing else upon the water.

We stayed two or three days taking in fresh water, but it was impossible to restrain our men from going on shore, to see what sort of a country it was; and I was very willing they should do so: Accordingly, two of our boats, with
about

about thirty men in both of them, went on shore on the East side of the creek or harbour, where our ship lay.

They found the country looked wild and savage, but though they could find no houses or speak with the inhabitants, they saw their footsteps and their seats where they had sat down under some trees; and after wandering about a little, they saw people, both men and women at a distance; but they ran away from our men, at first sight, like frightened deer; nor could they make any signal to them to be understood; for when our men halloed and called after them, they ran again as if they had been bewitched.

Our men gathered a great variety of green stuff, though they knew not of what kind, and brought it all on board, and we ate a great deal of it; some we boiled and made broth of; and some of our men, who had the scurvy, found
it

it did them a great deal of good; for the herbs were of a spicy kind, and had a most pleasant agreeable taste; but none of us could tell what to call them, though we had several men on board who had been among the Spice Islands before in Dutch ships.

We were very uneasy that we could get nothing here but a little grass and pot-herbs, as our men called it, and the men importuned me to let them have two boats, and go up the river as high as the tide would carry them: This I consented to, being as willing to make the discovery as they: So I ordered the captain of the Madagascar ship, who had, as I have said, been formerly my second mate; to go along with them.

But in the morning, a little before the flood was made, I was called out of my cabin to see an army, as they told me, coming to attack us: I turned out hastily enough, as may be easily conjectured,
and

and such an army appeared which no ship was ever attacked with; for we spied three or four hundred black creatures, come playing and tumbling down the stream towards us, like so many porpoises in the water: I was not satisfied at first that they were human creatures; but would have persuaded our men, that they were sea-monsters, or fishes of some strange kind.

But they quickly undeceived us, for they came swimming about our ships, staring and wondering, and calling to one another, but said not one word to us; at least, if they did, we could not understand them.

Some of them came very near our ship, and we made signs to them to come on board, but they would not venture: We tossed one of them a rope, and he took hold of it boldly; but as soon as we offered to pull, he let go, and laughed at us; another of them did the like, and when he let go, turned.

turned up his black buttocks, as in sport at us; the language of which, in our country, we all knew, but whether it had the same meaning here, we were at a loss to know.

However, this dumb manner of conversing with them, we did not like, neither was it to any purpose to us; and I was resolved, if possible, to know something more of them than we could get thus: So I ordered out our pinnace with six oars, and as many other men, well armed, to row among them; and if possible, to take some of them and bring them on board. They went off, but the six oar pinnace, though a very nimble boat, could not row so fast as they could swim; for if pulling with all their might, they came near one of them, immediately, like dog and duck, they would dive and come up again thirty or forty yards off; so that our men did not know which way to row after them: However, at last,

last, getting among the thickest of them, they got hold of two, and with some difficulty dragged them in; but think of their surprise, to find they were not men—but both young women. However, they brought them on board naked as they were.

When they came on board, I ordered they should have two pieces of linen wrapped round their waists to cover them, which they seemed well pleased with. We gave them also several strings of beads, and our men tied them about their necks, and about their arms like bracelets, and they were wonderfully delighted with their ornaments. Others of our men gave each of them a pair of scissars, with needles, and some thread, and threading the needles showed them how to sew with them: We also gave them food, and each of them a dram of arrack, and made signs to know of them where they lived; they pointed up to the river, but
we

we could by no means understand them.

When we had dressed them up thus with necklaces, and bracelets, and linen, we brought them up upon the deck, and made them call to their country folk, and let them see how well they were used, and the girls beckoned them to come on board, but they would not venture.

However, as I thought the discovery we were to make, would be something the easier on the account of the usage of these two young women; for they were not, as we guessed, above twenty or two and twenty years of age; we resolved that the boat should go on, as we intended, up the river; and that, as the two women pointed that way, they should carry them along with them.

Accordingly we sent two shallops or large boats, which carried together sixty men all well armed. We gave them store of beads and knives, and scissars, and such baubles

bles with them, with hatchets and nails, and hooks, looking-glasses, and the like; and we built up the sides of the boat and stern, and covered them with boards to keep off arrows and darts, if they should find occasion; so that they looked like London barges: In this posture, as soon as the tide of flood was made up, our men went away, carrying a drum and a trumpet in each boat; and each boat had also two patereros, or small cannon, fixed on the gunnel near the bow.

Thus furnished, they went off about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and to my very great uneasiness, I heard no more of them in four days. The whole ship's company were indeed surprized at their stay, and the captain of the sloop would fain have had me let him have sailed up the river with the sloop as far as the channel would serve; which really we found was deep enough. Indeed, as I was unwilling to run any more risques,
I could

I could not persuade myself, but that the force I had already sent was sufficient to fight five thousand naked creatures, such as the natives seemed to be; and therefore I was very unwilling to send: However, I consented at last to have our long boat and two smaller boats manned with fifty-four men more, very well armed, and covered from arrows and darts, as the other had been, go up the river, upon their solemn promise, and with express order, to return the next day at farthest; ordering them to fire guns as they went up the river to give notice to their fellows, if they could be heard, that they were coming; and that in the mean time, if I fired three guns, they should immediately return.

They went away with the tide of flood, a little before noon, and went up the river about five leagues; the tide running but slowly, and a strong fresh of land-water that checked the current coming
down;

down; so that when the tide was spent, they came to an anchor. They found the river, contrary to their expectation, continued both deep enough, and was wider in breadth than where the ships were at anchor; and that it had another mouth or outlet into the sea some leagues farther East; so that the land to the East of us, where our men went on shore, was but an island, and had not many inhabitants, if any; the people they had seen there, having, possibly, swam over the other arm or branch of the river to observe our ships the nearer. As our men found they could go no farther for want of the tide, they resolved to come to an anchor; but just as they were sounding, to see what ground they had, and what depth, a small breeze at North East sprang up; by which they stemmed the current, and reached up about two leagues farther, when they hove over their grappling in five fathom water, soft ground;
so

so that all this way, and much farther, every one of our ships might have gone up the channel, being as broad as the Thames is about Vauxhall.

It must be observed, that all along this river they found the land, after they came past the place where the other branch of the river broke off, Eastward, was full of inhabitants on both sides, who frequently came down to the water-side in haste to look at our boats. But always, when our men called to them, as if they thought our men enquired after their fellows, they pointed up the river; which was as much as to say, they were gone farther that way.

However, our men being not able to go any farther against the tide, took no notice of that; but after a little while some of them, in one of the smaller boats, rowed towards the shore, holding up a white flag to the people, in token of friendship: But it was all one,

and would have been all one, for aught they knew, if they had held up a red flag, for they all ran away, men, women, and children; nor could our men by any persuasions, by gestures and signs of any kind, prevail on them to stay, or hardly so much as to look at them.

The night coming on our men knew not well what course to take; they saw several of the Indians dwellings and habitations, but they were all at a distance from the river, occasioned, as our men supposed, by the river's overflowing the flat grounds near its banks, so as to render those lands not habitable.

Our men had a great inclination to have gone up to one of the towns they saw, but he that commanded, would not permit it, but told them, that if they could find a good landing place, that they might all go on shore, except a few, to keep the boats, if they chose to venture; upon which the smallest boat row-
ed

ed up about a mile, and found a small river running into the greater, and here they all resolved to land : but first they fired two muskets, to give notice, if possible, to their comrades, that they were at hand, however they heard nothing of them.

What impression the noise of the two muskets made among the Indians, they could not tell, for they were all run away before.

They were no sooner on shore, but considering, they had not above two hours day ; and that the Indian villages were at least two miles off, they called a council, and resolved not to march so far into a country they knew so little of, and be left to come back in the dark ; so they went on board again and waited till morning. However they viewed the country, found it was a fertile soil, and a great herbage on the ground : There were few trees near the river ; but farther up, where the Indian dwellings were, the little hills seemed to be covered with

woods, but of what kind they knew not.

In the morning before break of day, some of our men fancied they heard a gun fired up the river; upon which, the officer ordered two musquets to be fired again, as had been done the evening before; and in about a quarter of an hour they were answered by the like firing, by which, our men knew that their comrades heard them; so without pursuing their intended landing, the tide being then running upwards, they weighed, and sat to their oars, having little or no wind, and that which they had, blowing down the stream.

After they had gone about a league, they heard a confused noise at a great distance, which surprized them a little at first; but as they perceived it drew nearer and nearer, they waited a while, when they discovered first here and there some people, then more, and then about two or three hundred men
and

and women together, running, and every one carrying something.

Where it was they were going to, or what it was they carried, our men could not tell till they came nearer; when they found that they were all loaded with provisions, cocoa nuts, roots, cabbages, and a great variety of things which the men knew little of; and all these were carrying down to our ships, as we understood afterwards, in gratitude for our kind usage of the two young women.

When these people saw our men and their three boats, they were at a full stop, and once or twice they were ready to lay down all their loads and run for it; but ours made signs of peace, and held up a white flag to them.

Some of them, it seems, having, as we found, conversed with our men, had a little more courage than the rest, and came to the shore side, and looked at the boats. One of our men thought of a stratagem

to make known our desire of peace with them. Taking a string of beads and some toys, he held them up at the end of the boat-hook staff, and shewed them to the Indians, pointing to them with his hand, and then pointing with the other hand to what the Indians carried, and to his mouth, intimating that we wanted such things to eat, and would give him the beads for them.

One of the Indians presently understood him, and threw himself into the water, holding a bundle of plants, such as he had trussed up together, upon his head, and swimming with the other hand, came so near the boat where our men held out the staff, as to reach the end of the staff, take off the string of beads and toys, and hang his bunch of trash, for it was no better, upon the hook, and then went back again, for he would come no nearer.

When he was gotten on shore again,

again, all his comrades came about him to see what he had got; he hung the string of beads round his neck, and ran dancing about with the other things in his hand, as if he had been mad.

What our men got was a trifle of less worth than a good bunch of carrots in England, but yet it was useful, as it brought the people to converse with us; for after this, they brought us roots and fruits innumerable, and began to be very well acquainted with us.

By that time our men had chaf-fered thus four or five times, they first heard, and in a little while after saw, their two great boats with their fellows, coming down the river, at about two miles distance, with their drums and trumpets, and making noise enough.

They had been, it seems, about three leagues higher up, where they had been on shore among the Indians, and had set at liberty the two maidens, for such they under-

stood they were; who letting their friends see how fine they were dressed, and how well they were used, the Indians were so exceedingly obliged, and shewed themselves so grateful, that they thought nothing too much for them; but brought out all the sorts of provisions which their country produced, which, it seems, amounted to nothing but fruits, such as plantains, cocoa-nuts, oranges and lemons, and such things, and roots, which we could give no name to; but that which was most for our use, was a very good sort of maize, or Indian corn, which made us excellent bread.

They had, it seems, some hogs and some goats, but our men got only six of the latter, which were at hand, and were very good. But, that which was most remarkable, was, that whereas in all the islands within the Tropicks, the people are thievish, treacherous, fierce, and mischievous; and are armed
with

with lances, or darts, or bows and arrows; these appeared to be a peaceable, quiet, inoffensive people; nor did our men see any weapon among them, except a long staff, which most of the men carried in their hands; being made of a cane, about eight foot long, and an inch and half diameter, much like a quarter staff; with which they would leap over small brooks of water, with admirable dexterity.

The people were black, or rather of a tawny dark brown; their hair long, but curling in very handsome ringlets: They went generally quite naked, both men and women; except that in two places, our men said, they found some of the women covered from the middle downward. They seemed to have been strangers to the sea, nor did we find so much as any one boat among them; nor did any of the inhabitants dwell near the sea; but cultivated their lands very well,

in their way; having abundance of greens and fruits growing about their houses; and upon which, we found, they chiefly lived. The climate seemed to be very hot, and yet the country very fruitful.

These people, by all we could perceive, had never had any converse with the rest of the world by sea, what they might have by land we know not; but as they lie quite out of the way of all commerce, so it might be probable, they never had seen a ship or boat, whether any European ship, or so much as a periagua of the islands. We have mentioned their nearest distance to the Ladrones, being at least four hundred leagues; and from the Spice islands, and the country of New Guinea, much more; but as to the European shipping, I never heard of any that ever went that way, nor do I believe any ever did.

I take the more notice of these people's not having conversed, as I say,

say, with the world, because of the innocence of their behaviour, their peaceable disposition, and their way of living upon the fruits and produce of the earth; also their cultivation, and the manner of their habitations; no signs of rapine or violence appearing among them. Our stay here was so little that we could make no enquiry into their religion, manner of government, and other customs; nor have I room to croud many of these things into this account. They went indeed, as I have said, naked, some of them stark naked, both men and women; but I thought they differed in their countenances from all the wild people I ever saw; that they had something singular honest and sincere in their faces; nor did we find any thing of falshood or treachery among them.

The gratitude they expressed for our kindly using the two young women I have mentioned, was a token of generous principles; and
our

our men told us, that they would have given them whatever they could have asked, that was in their power to bestow.

In a word, it was on their account, they sent that little army of people to us loaden with provisions, which our men met before the two shallops came down. But all the provisions they had, consisted chiefly in fruits of the earth, cocoa-nuts, plantains, oranges, lemons, &c. and maize, or Indian corn. We had not any sufficient time with them, to enquire after what traffic they had, or whether any thing fit for us. They had several fragrant plants, and some spices, particularly cinnamon, which we found, but what else the country produced, we knew not.

We came away from hence after seven days stay, having observed little of the country, more than that it seemed to be very pleasant, but very hot; the woods were all flourishing

flourishing and green; and the soil rich, but no great matter, that could be the subject of trade: But an excellent place, to be a bait land, or port of refreshment in any voyage, that might afterwards be undertaken that way.

We set sail, I say, from hence in seven days, and finding the coast lie fairly on our starboard side, kept the land on board all the way distance about three leagues; and it held us thus, about an hundred and twenty leagues due East; when on a sudden, we lost sight of the land; whether it broke off, or whether it only drew off farther South, we could not tell

We went on two or three days more, our course South East, when we made land again: but found it to be only two small islands, lying South and by East, distance nine leagues. We stood on to them, and two of our boats went on shore, but found nothing for our purpose; no inhabitants, nor any
living

living creatures, except sea fowls, and some large snakes; neither was there any fresh water. So we called that land Cape Dismal.

The same evening, we stood away full South, to see if we could find out the continuance of the former land: But as we found no land, so a great sea coming from the South, we concluded we should find no land that way. And varying our course Easterly, we ran with a fair fresh gale at North West, and by West, for seven days more; in all which time, we saw nothing but the open sea every way; and making an observation, found we had passed the Southern Tropick; and that we were in the latitude of six and twenty degrees and thirteen minutes; after which, we continued our course still Southerly for several days more; until we found by another observation, that we were in two and thirty degrees, and twenty minutes.

This

This evening we made land over our starboard bow, distance six leagues, and stood away South and by East: But the wind slackening, we lay by in the night: and in the morning, found the land bearing East and by South, distance one league and a half; a good shore, and on sounding, about five and thirty fathom, stony ground. We now hoisted our boat out, and sent it on shore for discoveries, to sound the depth of the water, and see for a good harbour to put in at.

Our people went quite in with the shore, where they found several men and women, crowded together to look at us. When our men came close to the land, they hung out a white flag; but the wild people understood nothing of the meaning of it; but stood looking and amazed; and we have great reason to believe, that they never had seen any ship or bark of any nation before. We found on our
landing,

landing, no boats or sails, or any thing they had, to make use of on the water: But some days after, we saw several small canoes, with three or four men in each.

Our men not being able to speak a word for them to understand, or to know what was said to them, the first thing they did, was to make signs to them, for something to eat: Upon which, three of them seemed to go away, and coming again in a few minutes, brought with them several bundles or bunches of roots, some plantains, and some green lemons, or limes, and laid down all upon the coast. Our men took courage then to go on shore, and taking up what they brought, they set up a stick, and upon the end of it hung five bunches or strings, of blue and white beads, and went on board again.

Never was such joy among a wild people discovered, as these natives shewed, when they took the beads.

beads off the stick : They danced, and capered and made a thousand antick gestures ; and inviting our men on shore, laid their hands upon their breasts across ; and then looked up, intimating a solemn oath not to hurt us.

Our men made signs, by which they made them understand, that they would come again next morning, and also that they should bring us more eatables ; accordingly, we sent three boats the next morning, and our men carried knives, scissors, beads, looking glasses, combs, and any toys they had, not forgetting glass beads, and glass earrings in bundance.

The Indians were very ready to meet us, and brought us fruits and herbs as before ; but three of them, who stood at a distance, held each of them a creature exactly like a goat, but without horns or beard ; and these were brought to traffick with us.

We brought out our goods, and offered

offered every one something, but the variety was surprizing to them, who had never seen such things before. But that which was most valuable of all our things, was a hatchet, which one of their principal men took up, and looked at it, felt of the edge, and laid it down; then took it up again, and wanted to know the use of it: Upon which one of our men took it, and stepping to a tree that stood near, cut off a small bough of it at one blow: The man was surprized, and ran to the tree with it, to see if he could do the same, and finding he could, he laid it down, ran with all his might into the country, and by and by returning, came with two men more with him, to shew them this wonderful thing, a hatchet.

But if they were surprized with the novelty of a hatchet, our men were as much surprized to see hanging round the ears of both the men that he brought with him, large

large flat pieces of pure gold. The thread which they hung by, was made of the hair of the goats twisted very prettily together and very strong.

Our men offering to handle them, to see if they were gold, one of the men took off his two gold bobs, and offered them to our men for the hatchet; our men seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if the hatchet was of much greater value than those trifles; upon which, he being as we found, superior, made the other who came with him, pull off his two ear-jewels also; and so our unreasonable people took them all four, being of pure gold, and weighing together some grains above two ounces, in exchange for an old rusty hatchet. However unreasonable the price was, the purchaser did not think it so; and so overfond was he of the hatchet, that as soon as he had it for his own, he ran to the tree, and in a few
miutes

minutes had so laid about him with the hatchet, that there was not a twig left on it that was within his reach.

This exchange was a particular hint to me; and I presently directed my chief mate, and Captain Merlotte, to go on shore the next day, and acquaint themselves as much as they could with the natives, and if possible, to find out where they had this gold, and if any quantity was to be found.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

2